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## THE STORY OF NASHOTAH

*The Rev. Donald H. V. Hallock, M. A.,  
Captain, U. S. Army*

THE idea of Nashotah came to birth during the course of an evening in May, 1840. Hopelessly outnumbered and outflanked in his attacks upon the heathenism, apathy, and wild denominationalism in the West, Bishop Kemper had turned to the General Seminary for reinforcements, and by a happy combination of circumstances found ears that were open and hearts and wills that were ready to carry the Church Catholic to the far flung frontier.

That story, of Bishop Kemper's trials in the field and his success in getting James Lloyd Breck, William Adams, and John Henry Hobart, Jr. from the eight who first talked of the venture into Wisconsin, is well known and we shall not repeat it. More interesting will be generally unpublished sidelights from the bishop's voluminous correspondence and diaries<sup>1</sup> as they bear upon the first monastic house in the American Church and its change within so few years into what was strictly a seminary of theological learning.

It does not appear to have been the primary purpose of the young men to begin a theological seminary. They refused an offer Dr. Muhlenburg made to Bishop Kemper for them to spend a year as teachers in his newly opened "Cadet's Hall" to prepare themselves for the work of education. Gradually they came to see that this work loomed much more largely in the mind of the bishop than in their own. Hobart was "loathe at any time to have the work of education preponderant over direct missionary labour . . . and if the object of our undertaking

<sup>1</sup>Now preserved in the collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and for the earlier part of which I am much indebted to the Rev. Ralph J. Spinner, who began the research on Nashotah's story ten years ago.

were to be made the establishment in the future of a seminary or college—it would materially alter my position in regard to it.”<sup>2</sup> However, they see the absolute necessity of “establishing a school which may hereafter grow into a college, *under our superintendence*, and to which any one or more of us may principally devote himself if he thinks such is his duty.”<sup>3</sup> The bishop, on the other hand, mentions many times in his diary and letter books, speaking of the four,<sup>4</sup> “they are ready to go to Wisconsin or any other place, under or with me, to open a Xan school and preach the Gospel.”

After a year of planning their venture, completing their course at General, and obtaining their ordination to the diaconate, the three were ready in the summer of 1841 to set out for the West. In the meantime, Bishop Kemper, after conference with them, had invited the Rev. Richard F. Cadle, long a missionary in Wisconsin, to be their head. Breck was delighted that they had a Superior, and a celibate at that. Cadle, however, almost from the start felt that he would be a drag on the progress of the younger men and shortly after their arrival in Wisconsin separated from them. While they always spoke of him as “Father” Cadle or “Prior” Cadle, he apparently had little sympathy with their plans for a religious house nor any personal aptitude for the communal life. The three had voted that there should be “community of goods with community of purpose”, but Cadle would not agree to pool his missionary stipend with theirs. He would pay his own share of the expenses, but anything that remained must be his to dispose of as he wished. He wrote the bishop further, “The imposition of celibacy I candidly confess I do not like, not being in the slightest degree oxfordized.”<sup>5</sup>

Cadle was too much the ladies’ man for the venturesome pioneers from General. On one letter he wrote to Adams, requesting they deliver prayer books to a number of women at various points, Adams pencilled, “ Pretty nice old gentleman this is for a bachelor-Parson—away with all clerical Bachelorship.”<sup>6</sup> Bishop Kemper wrote of him to his daughter, “poor old gentleman! full of fire & poetry where the ladies are in question. I told him lately that if he ever kept house there would be two idolaters in it—his dog would worship him & he would

<sup>2</sup>*Kemper Letters*, Vol. 24, No. 148, July 12, 1841.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>*Miles, the fourth, was refused permission by his bishop, Gadsden of South Carolina, to join the mission, despite the urgent and pathetic pleas of Bishop Kemper.*

<sup>5</sup>*Kemper Letter*, 24:107, May 19, 1841. For a biography of Cadle, see Howard Greene, “Richard Fish Cadle,” *Waukesha*, 1936. 165 pp.

<sup>6</sup>Original in vault at Nashotah House.

worship his wife."<sup>7</sup> In many ways Cadle was a good and faithful missionary, the founder of a number of churches in Michigan and Wisconsin, but not destined to play much of a part upon the stage of Nashotah.

The first to set foot upon the new field was Hobart, who came out to meet Bishop Kemper at "Milwaukie Village", Friday, August 6, 1841. Prairieville, the present Waukesha, about fifteen miles to the west, had been selected as the most likely place for their beginning, and on the Monday following the bishop and Hobart set out with the Rev. Lemuel B. Hull, missionary at St. Paul's, Milwaukee, to look over the prospects. Hobart was more than pleased with the country and exclaimed again and again at the beauty of the scenery, with its deep forests, rolling hills and magnificent vistas.<sup>8</sup> They found that living would be considerably cheaper in that vicinity than they had expected, and that building materials were also cheap and plentiful. Although there had been some thought given to the advantages of settling further to the west, Hobart was ready to begin on the spot. The bishop then took Hobart on a tour of many of the villages in southeast Wisconsin, Mukwonago, Sugar Creek, Elkhorn, Genoa, Burlington, Rochester, Rock Prairie, Janesville, Beloit, and Aztalan, in all of which there were small bands of church people. Hobart started from the latter place alone, on horseback, to conduct services at Madison. Thus he had had a good taste of the life they would lead and the kind of people they would meet even before Breck and Adams joined him.

On the 11th of September the rest of the mission arrived at Milwaukee, Breck, Adams, and Cadle, who had been visiting in the East. The next day being Sunday they took turns preaching for Hull at the morning, afternoon, and evening services, while Hobart was holding forth at Prairieville. Monday morning Hobart walked the fifteen miles into Milwaukee to meet them and the following day they were all together in Prairieville. Lodgings were scarce and Adams and Breck had to take a little room adjoining the post-office, a room "about the size of their bed." Hobart, apparently, was already taken care of, but for Cadle there was nothing that would suit his comfort and he left them for Racine, from which point his labors were thenceforth directed. Soon another room was obtained in which all three could live together. The house had two rooms and was of logs. The family lived and cooked in one room and part of the bargain was that the meals for all should be served in the room of the missionaries. This con-

<sup>7</sup>*Kemper Letters*, 26:34, April 14, 1842.

<sup>8</sup>*Kemper Diary*, August 10, 1841.

stituted the "religious house" of the Associate Mission. Here they worked together, ate, prayed, wrote. From here they set out on their numerous journeys on foot or horseback, or occasionally with wagon or sled.

The earliest available report of their activities is that of December 30, 1841, drawn up by Hobart as their clerk. For the preceding quarter they reported 101 services in 17 different places, covering a territory about forty miles in length and fifty miles in breadth. They had traveled 1,851 miles horseback and 736 miles afoot. In addition to the regular services they had had 19 baptisms and two marriages. About 150 church members had been located. The expenses of the men were surprisingly low, for board and lodging of the three men and two horses they paid every fortnight about fifteen dollars!<sup>9</sup>

In February the bishop was back in Prairieville and on the evening of the fourth a momentous conclave was held in their one room religious house, a room crammed with beds, books, clothes, stove, and miscellaneous impedimenta of roving missionaries. A letter of the bishop to his daughter a few days later is worth quoting in extenso: "With Mr. Breck I am much delighted—he appears so calm, steady, and devoted to the great objects of his missions. Mr. Adams is learned, eccentric, & persevering. The night of my arrival we held a council which resulted in some important measures. They are greatly encouraged at their stations. They now ride 30 miles to places to which they used to walk; but they cannot help considering there is a great waste of time during these long journeys. They therefore wish to circumscribe their visits to about twelve miles from their home & to begin at once to pay attention to the important subject of education. This will evidently be the hobby of Adams. He believes that if they can open a school early in Spring they will have by fall more than 50 pupils, of whom 30 will be looking forward to the ministry. If this view is even partially correct, the Institution will be, as far as Missions & the Church are concerned the most important in the U. S. We determined to make the effort for that purpose to send Hobart at once to New York to solicit \$5,000 for the necessary buildings."<sup>10</sup>

Hobart expected his task to take two weeks; he was away almost nine months, and instead of the \$5,000 they wanted his efforts procured about \$2,000. While he was at the East ugly rumors of "romanizing" were being spread abroad around Philadelphia and New York. Breck had rather foolishly mentioned in a personal letter which became public the hope that they might eventually sponsor a "nunnery", in 1842 hardly

<sup>9</sup>*Spirit of Missions, February, 1842.*

<sup>10</sup>*Kemper Letters, 25:148, February 12, 1842.*

the thing to advocate. Another rumor was that Adams and Breck had taken vows for life. The bishop answered this, again to his daughter, who was in Philadelphia and kept him well informed on all that was taking place there, "There have been no vows in Wisconsin. A & B are determined under all circumstances to persevere in their present plan; and I believe if even not a penny is received from New York they will lay a foundation for the Church that can never be shaken."<sup>11</sup> Hobart distinguished himself by getting engaged during this visit, a fact which led the missionaries in Wisconsin to surmise that it was not the hardness of churchmen's hearts nor the emptiness of their purses which caused so prolonged a stay.

Rather oddly, when the time came to select the land for the permanent location of the Associate Mission, Breck had nothing to do with it. Hull, of Milwaukee, was the bishop's agent and he purchased the 464 acres on Upper and Lower Nashotah lakes after he and Adams had ridden out to inspect it. Nevertheless, Breck was thoroughly pleased and the choice for all generations to come was certainly a happy one, as all who have ever visited Nashotah will attest. August 30, 1842, was moving day. Breck, Adams and their one student, Charles Curran, bedded down temporarily in the rough claim shack, 13 by 17 feet, which stood on the bluff above the lake. Breck wrote his brother Charles, "In this room we are to cook our own victuals (pork, potatoes, and tea). Having neither bedstead nor mattress, we shall sleep on our buffalo robes, spread upon the floor. The place is most accessible, but at the same time delightfully retired, and in many parts of it hidden."<sup>12</sup> A frame house (the present Blue house), 17 by 22 feet with two stories, was contracted for, to be ready before winter.

Sunday, October 9th, Breck and Adams were advanced to the priesthood in the Indian chapel at Oneida, then apparently the only consecrated church building in the territory. Of all the many hardships they had had to endure, the hardest was the impossibility of partaking of the Holy Communion. Breck had mentioned this in a letter to the bishop, "We have had no head, and only been allowed the privilege of participation in the Holy Eucharist at your hands, brother Adams once and myself twice."<sup>13</sup> Breck had wanted to remain in deacon's orders until he was at least thirty and had offered to vow obedience to Adams for six years if he would accept ordination to the priesthood and assume the direction of the Mission. Adams was unwilling and insisted that Breck should be head. In the same letter

<sup>11</sup>*Kemper Letters*, 26:14, March 21, 1842.

<sup>12</sup>*Charles Breck, Life of James Lloyd Breck*, p. 29.

<sup>13</sup>*Kemper Letters*, 26:87, July 8, 1842.

Breck states, "Our first principles we still hold to, tho' have had scarcely a chance for the carrying of them out." From the old mission school at Green Bay they brought back some school books, a globe, and a bell. The latter has been the subject of some controversy, since it was at least a candidate for recognition as the first in Wisconsin. It is not, as is generally thought, the small bell now in use at Nashotah and known as "Little Michael". Breck took this bell with him when he went to Minnesota, where it was hung in its first belfry at S. Columbia's, Gull Lake.<sup>14</sup>

About this time Nashotah received recognition from abroad. The Rev. Henry Caswell, professor of divinity in Kemper college, was in England collecting for the college and in a letter to the bishop mentions a visit paid to Newman at Littlemore, "The conversation turned on your Wisconsin monastery in which the greatest possible interest was evinced . . . the eyes of a large & influential portion of the Clergy of England, of both schools in theology look with deep interest on the Wisconsin Mission . . . The Rev. E. Hawkins showed me a letter just received from Dr. Pusey, in which the latter says, 'Have you heard of the establishment in Wisconsin, which Bishop Kemper calls his most promising mission?'" Shortly after, Caswell met Pusey and we cannot refrain from including this bit, "I am sorry to find, however, that he thinks on the whole favourably of Popish miracles."<sup>15</sup> Breck was afraid that if they but knew the truth about the Mission, "viz that it has but *three* Clergymen, and those possessed of not quite yet *three* years Ministerial experience, and that the remainder of the Household consists of only *four* lay brethren (one a lad and the rest young men of 18, 19, and 22 years of age respectively, preparing for the Ministry) . . . will they not think scorn of our attempt at reviving ancient & Catholic things?"<sup>16</sup>

In the spring of 1843 Adams resigned from the Mission and returned to the East. The cause is not too plain, but from the correspondence with the bishop it would appear that Hobart was the source of trouble between the other two members. Hobart says in one letter, "A. must be removed: his influence not of a favourable sort."<sup>17</sup> Another letter from Breck seems to indicate what this influence was and shows some of his own puritanism, "Were he fit in all other respects, this one habit would over balance all qualifications, his *excessive use of Tobacco*, a man could not be more a slave to ardent

<sup>14</sup>See Holcombe's "Apostle of the Wilderness," p. 97, for an interesting account of the bell's history.

<sup>15</sup>Kemper Letters, 27:26, no date but in Bp. Kemper's hand, "Ans 27 Dec. 42".

<sup>16</sup>Kemper Letters, 27:58, March 16, 1843.

<sup>17</sup>Kemper Letters, 27:32, January 6, 1843.

spirits, than he is to this weed!"<sup>18</sup> Even the hardest storms of winter could not keep him from walking to Delafield or Baxter's Prairie to replenish his pouch. Breck goes on that Adams is convinced of his error and has tithed money sent him by his father and devoted it to the digging of a well for the House. The real cause of disagreement probably lay much deeper, in the conflict between Hobart's interest in missionary endeavor alone and Adam's innate love of teaching.

The bishop had wanted them to take two or three of the more promising Indian pupils from Oneida, which they were not very anxious to do. However, Breck left it to the bishop and if he was pledged and there were no other way out, "Don't hesitate a moment in sending the *most tractable* one of the two, only let it at present if possible, be understood only for a year, & if we succeed with his wild nature for this space then it can be extended for a longer period."<sup>19</sup> Two young Indians later came, John Cornelius, the son of a chief, and Daniel Nimham. The former played a part in an amusing incident in 1845 when, with the larder bare, the Mission was unexpectedly visited by two of the clergy. Before the early morning service Breck was heard to tell brother Keene, doing the cooking, "Put in plenty of pepper," and John was seen going into the woods with his rifle. During the Venite a shot was heard and from the chapel window John could be seen coming back, carrying the old rooster. Then followed a commotion in the schoolroom, John chasing the hen around. During the Te Deum there was a second shot, a series of cacklings, and the hen was ready for the pot. The soup at breakfast was hot, brother Keene having well obeyed the injunction about the pepper, but the visitors could make no impression on the meat. They each sent five dollars to replenish the hen yard.

In the winter of 1844 Bishop Kemper spent three months in and about Nashotah. Adams and Hobart were gone and Breck was practically alone with fifteen students, among them two Swedes from the large settlement into which he had brought the Church, two Oneidas, and two Englishmen. There was one other priest resident, the Rev. William Walsh, but he refused to have anything to do with either the principles of the Mission or the education of the students. In a letter to the Rev. Samuel R. Johnson, rector of S. John's church, Lafayette, Indiana, one of the bishop's oldest and best friends, the bishop describes the daily life at the House, "We meet 4 & sometimes 5 times in a day for worship. Let me see: The first bell rings at 5—at 6 we go to the chapel—then breakfast—then the students recite &

<sup>18</sup>Kemper Letters, 27:65, March 30, 1843.

<sup>19</sup>Kemper Letters, 27:61, March 17, 1843.

study for 2 hours—at 9 chapel—from 10 to 12 the students work, & from 2 to 4. At 6 & 9 we are again at chapel. Dinner at 12½—supper 6½. The Eucharist is administered every Thursday at 9.”<sup>20</sup> During this stay Bishop Kemper was visited by a delegation from the Swedish settlement, who presented him with a long petition addressed to the “Biscopal Bishop, Johnson Kemper”, requesting the dedication of their burial ground and the education by Nashotah of Gustaf Unionius as their pastor.<sup>21</sup> A few days later some of them were confirmed and their burial ground dedicated. Unionius did much translating into Swedish during these services and certain parts he read himself as the Epistle and Gospel, or led the people as in the Lord’s Prayer.

By the fall of 1844 thirty students were in residence, eighteen of them lay-brothers having the ministry in view. Adams had returned on the basis that he should be solely a teacher and have nothing to do with the brotherhood. On December 6, 1844, a petition from six of the brethren, bearing a statement of Adam’s approval, was presented to the Superior, beginning that they might have the “daily celebration of the Blessed Sacrament”.<sup>22</sup> Thereupon the daily Eucharist was begun and the services extended to six, beginning at four in the morning with the lesser litany and penitential psalms. The bishop was back in February, 1845. His son, Samuel, had been a student since the summer previous. A letter to his daughter is valuable, “The events of yesterday were deeply interesting. 8 candidates were presented for Confirmation—and they all communed. There were two girls who were not long since baptized by Mr. B. and whose brother is a member of the Mission. Then there was a man with his wife from Oconomowoc—then Daniel Nimham, one of the Oneida boys—Kanute, the Swedish boy—Heber<sup>23</sup> the son of my old friend Dr. Weller whom I have promised to educate—and last but not least our precious Sam, as meek and gentle as a lamb . . . Only think! With child-like simplicity he consulted me this morning about the daily communion. I left it to himself, but advised him to begin with once a week.” Later in the same letter he gives a remarkable characterization of his future son-in-law, “Adams himself is a study for life—certainly the most eccentric being I have ever met. He gave a written commendation of

<sup>20</sup>*Kemper Letters*, 28:55, January 19, 1844. The chapel is the “Red Chapel”, built in the summer of 1843 and now used only for the annual *Alumni requiem* each Commencement. It served as Dr. Adams’ class room after the building of the present chapel in 1862.

<sup>21</sup>The original of this interesting document is included in the *Kemper Letters*, Vol. 28, No. 45.

<sup>22</sup>A copy of the petition, with Adams’ endorsement, is preserved in *Kemper Letters*, 29:63.

<sup>23</sup>Father of the late bishop of Fond du Lac, himself a graduate of Nashotah.

the daily communion & has never attended it since I came here, except yesterday. He says ridiculous things at the most inappropriate times. He is unrubrical & certainly very unpopish, and eats enormously during Lent. Far from Romanism flourishing under his influence, even Puseyism cannot exist where he is".<sup>24</sup>

By spring of this year Breck's star had begun to set. The bishop began to lose confidence in him from a number of causes. There had been a certain amount of wastefulness in the caring for property and spending of money, for which Breck should have been excused because of the multiutde of his duties. The institution was in difficulty more often because those who had promised the support of students failed to pay. One priest of Maryland had been very generous, promising the support of 25 students, and then after Breck had spent the money in anticipation of this income, word came that the priest had gone insane and what little he had sent was not his to give. This, too, was a year of ecclesiastical turmoil throughout the Church and Nashotah had its enemies in the East who grasped at every straw of "puseyism" and magnified them in the columns of the Church press. Bishop Kemper was worried and began to condemn the things he had once approved. In answer to a request for his views, Bishop Whittingham agreed with the stand Bishop Kemper had decided to take, "I do not think that our branch of the Church sanctions *daily* communion, in ordinary cases . . . I think it highly inexpedient to introduce crosses into churches, where there is the least objection to them or scruple about them . . . they should not be so large as to appear more than a mere ornament . . . I would certainly, on no account, adopt the terms 'nun' or 'monk' in an institution like Nashotah; but see no objection to 'superior'. Rector is much better. President . . . which is a scriptural term, would perhaps be better still."<sup>25</sup> Shortly after this, some time during the summer of 1845, the daily Eucharist came to an end. Its celebration continued on Sundays, Thursdays, and Holy Days, which was still notable for the times.

With the increase in the number of candidates and the opening of the parochial school Breck began to have increasing difficulties in handling the students. He was a rigid disciplinarian, without the tempering value of a sense of humor. It was hard for him to work with others, a difficulty which followed him to Minnesota and was partly responsible for his leaving that work, and which must often have made him feel that in the tremendous foundations he laid he himself was a failure. When Nashotah obtained a charter in 1847 and a board of

<sup>24</sup>Kemper Letters, 29:112, February 20, 1845.

<sup>25</sup>Kemper Letters, 30:3, Ascension Day (May 1st), 1845.

trustees in 1848, the days of Breck's singlehanded management were over. The marriage of Adams to the bishop's daughter in August, 1848, was a blow to his principles from which Breck could hardly recover, and finally, in May, 1850, he resigned, presenting a long paper to the trustees outlining his reasons, i. e., the changed character of the institution, married clergy living on the grounds, etc.<sup>26</sup>

Within a year after the accession of Azel Dow Cole as president Nashotah began to grow up. Under the Breck regime the House had been famous for its work committees, Kitchen, Baking, Garden, and Wash, of which the last was the most coveted assignment, with certain rights and privileges not common to the others, for instance coffee at the noon meal on Monday, the wash day. At the annual meeting of the trustees, the president reports, "The students ought immediately to be relieved from doing their own washing and ironing, as it is a serious drawback to the Institution and an unfit and highly improper employment for students for the Holy Ministry in the Church."<sup>27</sup> So the washing and ironing were let out in the neighborhood. Later, the garden was found to interfere with the studies and recitations of the members of the committee. A gardener was employed. Nevertheless, from its founding Nashotah students have been required to labor in some form for the House and to be responsible for the housekeeping of their individual rooms.

The first ten years under Dr. Cole were years of expansion in both numbers of students and fabric. At one time in the late fifties there were over fifty students in residence. In 1860, when the preparatory department was at Racine, there were 27 there and 33 at Nashotah, a total of 60 under her support. Bishop White Hall was completed in 1856, the present chapel in 1862, Shelton Hall some time in the seventies. As the school grew in numbers its income increased, although almost always in the lesser proportion. Cole was very much like Breck in depending upon faith alone to produce their needs, "hoping the mail of the morrow will bring the bread of the morrow."<sup>28</sup> To him any effort toward an endowment bordered on the sinful, and the trustees' minutes year by year indicate a constant war being waged by the more worldly minded on the board that a large endowment be raised. Some legacies and gifts came for scholarships, professorial chairs and prizes, of which only the income might be used, so that a small endowment did in fact exist.

One of the problems of this period, which existed from the be-

<sup>26</sup>*Trustee's minutes, May 23, 1850. Also, an earlier document along the same lines, November 13, 1849.*

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid., June 3, 1852.*

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid., May 28, 1858.*

ginning and to some extent continues to the present, was that of the preparatory department. The problem had always been partly one of room, partly of the difficulties arising out of the mixing of younger preparatory students with older seminarians, and partly out of the incongruity of theological professors teaching academic subjects. Some relief was occasioned in 1857 by Dr. DeKoven's taking this department into his "St. John's Hall" at Delafield, where classes were held, although the students still ate and slept on Nashotah grounds. The best arrangement of all came in 1859 when DeKoven took over Racine college. Racine, begun six years before, was practically defunct, and Nashotah had to put \$2,000 into finishing and furnishing the buildings there. In addition \$4,000 was appropriated for the support of 20 students, with \$160 for each over that number. By 1867 the House was sorry for its bargain, being now in debt to Racine, and in 1871 the plan came to an end. From then on, the House alternately, with the tides of financial depression and prosperity, closed and re-opened this department. In 1881, after a gradual closing out of the department, the enrollment of the seminary was reduced to twelve. In 1933 the preparatory department was again abandoned, with the result that by 1936 there were only 12 seminarians. In 1935 the present Nashotah-Carroll plan was inaugurated, on the basis that the college men should live at the House but go daily by bus to Carroll college at Waukesha. Upon the completion of a three-year course at Carroll and the three-year seminary course they receive a B. A. degree from Carroll and, if and when eligible, the B. D. from Nashotah. This plan has worked to produce the present high enrollment of 36 seminarians and 32 collegians, which is just about Nashotah's capacity.

Nashotah's isolation from the world has not always been considered an unmixed blessing and twice in her history the suggestion of moving to a location nearer the scenes of "life and letters" has been made, apparently with quite a bit of support enlisted each time by those who made the suggestion. In 1880 the proposition was made that Nashotah should follow the example of all the Protestant bodies and move nearer Chicago, a site having been promised at LaGrange. This was shortly before the opening of Western Seminary under Bishop McLaren, a member at that time of Nashotah's board. Dr. Cole presented all the advantages of such a move, but no action was taken.<sup>29</sup> Again in 1910 came the proposition that the House be moved to Madison to procure the benefits of association with the University of Wisconsin. This was shortly after Alice Sabine Hall, precursor of the present Cloister, was burned to the ground and there was a question as

<sup>29</sup>Trustee's minutes, May 23, 1850. Also, an earlier document along the same lines, July 1, 1880.

to whether it should be rebuilt. After long debate, the motion to move was indefinitely tabled and a committee appointed to see to the building of the present Cloister.<sup>30</sup>

For thirty-five years under Dr. Cole Nashotah plodded slowly, steadily and surely toward some degree of respectability as a seminary. Bishop White Hall, the chapel dedicated to S. Sylvanus, and Shelton Hall were built. The churchmanship throughout his presidency represented largely the Hobartian high churchmanship of Bishop Kemper, which was less than Cole, a mild sort of Tractarian churchman, would have liked. At one time he requested the board to grant permission for a full choral service at the evening and Sunday services. The resolution finally passed was typical of the board's membership, "Resolved, the President has the liberty to order a Choral Service, once a year at his pleasure."<sup>31</sup>

For four years following the death of Dr. Cole, the Rev. Dr. George E. Carter served as president. The period was one of financial stringency, which may have had something to do with a return to the early "committee work" plan of Breck's day, although Dr. Carter also felt it to be valuable in itself as a means of discipline for the high calling of the ministry. He expressed a further reason, "I should say that those people in the East who would most readily help Nashotah, in preference to some other seminaries, are rather pained when they hear that our young men no longer make their own bread, & their own brick, & reap our harvests."<sup>32</sup>

It remained for the Rev. Dr. Walter R. Gardner, late of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, who became president upon the resignation of Carter in 1890, to take up the strands of churchmanship where Breck had left off under pressure from Bishop Kemper, and for Nashotah to emerge into full-blown Anglo-Catholicity. Sometime shortly after his accession the daily Mass, for which the lay-brethren had petitioned their superior in 1844 and which they had possessed for a few months, was resumed to continue without interruption to the present. A meditation was given each week day following the Mass, the faculty taking turns. Occasional retreats were held. The chapel was somewhat enriched with a "dignified altar" given by the Church of the Ascension, Chicago, and with other gifts including a rood screen and choir stalls. The use of Eucharistic vestments was instituted. No doubt the presence of Bishops Grafton, Seymour, and Nicholson on the board of trustees and the addition to it of such catholic-minded priests as

<sup>30</sup>*Trustee's minutes, May 23, 1850. Also, an earlier document along the same lines, May 25, 1910.*

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid., May 24, 1861.*

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid., October 24, 1888.*

Dafters, Weller, and Rogers of Fond du Lac, Fiske of Rhode Island, and Christian of Newark, made easy the way.

Financially, the golden age of Nashotah was the period of twenty years between 1890 and 1910, with Bishops Grafton, Nicholson, and Webb to draw from their wide acquaintance among men and women of wealth in the East. At Dr. Cole's death in 1885 Nashotah's endowment was hardly more than her debt, itself about \$40,000. With Bishop Nicholson's very active presidency of the board and Dr. Webb's business-like management of the House this debt was wiped out in 1900 and the endowment increased to \$80,000, to be considerably more in the ten years following.

The two bishops of Milwaukee and Fond du Lac were both strong-minded and strong-willed, and while each had a great love for Nashotah, their interests were bound to clash. On one occasion Bishop Grafton held an ordination at Nashotah without bothering to ask Bishop Nicholson's consent, which the latter regarded as an intrusion.<sup>33</sup> Bishop Nicholson wrote him that it would only cost him a "two-cent stamp" to obtain his permission, which greatly irritated his lordship of Fond du Lac and led him to believe that Bishop Nicholson was trying to "steal" Nashotah. The trustees finally voted that the episcopal jurisdiction of Nashotah should be vested in all the bishops who were members of its board, and that in the interim between their meetings the authority should be delegated to the bishop of Milwaukee, "who in case of doubt or dissatisfaction shall refer to the other Bishops of the Board of Trustees."<sup>34</sup> The upshot was that Bishop Grafton stayed away from the meetings until his brother of Milwaukee was on his deathbed.

To this period also belongs the story of the "Companions of the Holy Saviour", a society founded by William McGarvey in 1891 to furnish a rule of life for parish priests. In 1896 it developed into a community, with St. Elizabeth's, Philadelphia, as its home. Dr. Webb was a member from its beginning and when he was elected professor of dogmatics at Nashotah in 1892 brought its influence there. Many of the students belonged, as many today become lay-associates of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Holy Cross, or the Order of St. Francis. In 1908, ostensibly because of the passage of the "Open-Pulpit canon", which the extremist members of the society felt shut off forever any hope of union with the See of Peter, they began to look Romeward. Nashotah was the home of the western conference

<sup>33</sup>*The writer has been in military service during the compilation of this article, without benefit of checking again the sources nor of having all his material. This incident is given largely from memory but is substantially correct.*

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid., October 17, 1895.*

and it was not strange that there should be intrigue going on there among the members. One of them, Sigourney Fay, was the brilliant and erratic professor of dogmatics. Hawks and Bourne, both recent graduates, were tutors in the preparatory department. The Rev. Joseph G. H. Barry, who had followed Bishop Webb as dean two years before, was also a member but found the increasingly Italian atmosphere too uncongenial and resigned. He saw the way the wind was blowing at Nashotah and, perhaps as the wisest course, did nothing.<sup>35</sup> When the smoke had cleared Nashotah was minus one professor, Fay, two tutors, Hawks and Bourne, one middler seminarian, and two very youthful junior preps. Barry summed up the incident for the board, "The effect on the Seminary was to give us a disturbed year and a good deal of unsettlement, but has ended in clearing the air and calling out a spirit of loyalty among the men."<sup>36</sup>

With the advent of the Rev. Edward A. Larrabee as dean, Nashotah entered upon a period of comparative somnolence and decay. He was one of those holy men who should have been cloistered, for he had no conception of how to handle young men who were vigorous and sometimes mischievous. Where the students needed meat and potatoes they got endless lectures on celibacy and mush, boiled for breakfast, back again fried for supper. After one particularly bad meal, or perhaps the culmination of many of them, the students formed a snake dance around the dean's house, shouting "We want food!". Larrabee, in great distress, promised them if they would be good they could all go up to the refectory and get an apple. That was typical of the tragedy of Larrabee at Nashotah, for he was truly one of God's saints.

Canon St. George really belongs to a period all his own, having been an instructor and professor under five of Nashotah's nine presidents and deans. His tenure rivals that of Adams, and both were Irish to the core and full of the lovable crotchets of the Celtic nature. He was a martinet in the classroom and the men feared him, but they loved him, too, and for many a student of those days Nashotah still means the old Canon. His contributions to Nashotah were many,

<sup>35</sup>See Barry's *Impressions and Opinions*, pp. 245-49, for his account. Two books of the 'verts, Hawks' *William McGarvey and the Open Pulpit*, and Hayward's *The C. S. S. S.*, have good accounts of Nashotah's early history, although spoiled for anything else by their too obvious animus and easy disregard of truth.

<sup>36</sup>Trustee's minutes, May 20, 1908. At this same meeting someone accused Professor Fosbroke, present dean of General, of being a heretic because of an address on the Old Testament at the Episcopal Congress. A newspaper clipping, "Rectors Assail Bible's Veracity", was introduced in evidence. The bishops appointed as a committee to investigate reported "they do not think it consistent with the dignity of this Board of Trustees to take any action based upon a newspaper clipping". The following year they voted him a D. D.

but so also were they to the whole Church for the great part he played in the revision of the Prayer Book.

These past twenty years have seen a revival and strengthening of Nashotah. Dean Ivins, since Bishop of Milwaukee, began it; Dean Nutter has carried it on. Nashotah is no longer the seminary of Milwaukee and Fond du Lac, but a seminary of the Church. Today, twenty-three dioceses are represented by her thirty-eight seminarians and thirty-one collegians. Maine to South Florida, Alaska and Oregon to Chicago and New York are all represented. Truly can it be said that, as she celebrates her first hundred years, Nashotah has come of age.

## THE REV. JOHN STUART, D. D., (1740-1811). MISSIONARY TO THE MOHAWKS\*

By *John Wolfe Lydekker, M. A., F. S. A., F. R. Hist. S.,*  
*Archivist to the S. P. G.*

### PART I: IN COLONIAL AMERICA

The two hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Stuart seems a fitting date on which to record some aspects of the life and work of one whose memory is rightly perpetuated as being "The Father of the Church of England in Upper Canada."<sup>1</sup> Among the earlier missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, John Stuart is outstanding as the trusted friend of the loyal Mohawk Indians during the Revolutionary War and its aftermath, and also as the first pastor of the United Empire Loyalists of Kingston and its neighborhood.

#### BIRTH AND EDUCATION

John Stuart was born on 10 March (N. S.), 1740, at the township of Paxton, Pennsylvania. His father, Andrew Stuart (or Stewart), who claimed descent from the Royal House,<sup>2</sup> was born in 1698, and about the year 1730 he emigrated to America from the neighbourhood of Omagh, County of Tyrone, Ireland, with his brother Archibald. These two brothers were strict Covenanters who went into voluntary exile

\**The following abbreviations are used in the Footnotes:—*

"B" MSS.=a series of documents in the S. P. G. Archives.

Journal=the MS. Journal of the S. P. G.

Dict. Nat. Biog.=The Dictionary of National Biography.

Doc. Hist. of N. Y.=The Documentary History of the State of New York, E. B. O'Callaghan, ed.

N. Y. Col. Docs.=Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, compiled by J. R. Brodhead.

<sup>1</sup>*He is thus described in the epitaph of his grave in St. George's Cathedral, Kingston, Canada.*

<sup>2</sup>*According to family tradition Andrew Stuart is said to have been descended from James, Duke of Monmouth (1649-1685), the ill-fated son of Charles II., (c. f. also the late Professor A. H. Young's monograph *The Rev. John Stuart and His Family*, p. 7.) It would seem, therefore, that Andrew was a son of a natural son of the Duke whose only surviving (legitimate) sons were James, Earl of Dalkeith (1674-1705) and Henry, Earl of Deloraine (1676-1730). It may be assumed that Andrew's father took the name of Stuart (Stewart) and emigrated to Ireland.*

for the sake of their religion, and it is recorded of Andrew that he was "the earliest Reformed Presbyterian Member in America."<sup>3</sup> His wife Mary was the sister of Robert Dinwiddie<sup>4</sup> (1693-1770), who became lieutenant-governor of Virginia in 1751.<sup>5</sup> Andrew and Mary Stuart had a family of seven, their children (of whom John was the eldest) being James, Mary, Elizabeth, Charles, Andrew and Eleanor.<sup>6</sup> It will be noted that (with the exception of John) the first four of these children were given names of the Royal Stuarts<sup>7</sup>—a circumstance which perhaps tends to corroborate Andrew's claim to royal descent.

John Stuart was educated at the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania), then under the presidency of the Rev. William Smith, D. D., an Aberdonian who had emigrated to America. In 1753 Dr. Smith had returned to Scotland and had taken Orders in the Scottish Episcopal Church. It was probably owing to his influence that Stuart became an adherent of the Anglican Church. Having graduated in 1763, Stuart became a schoolmaster in his native county of Lancaster, Pennsylvania.<sup>8</sup> He had long desired to take Orders, but he forbore to do so out of deference to his father, who had a most rigid objection to Anglicanism. After several years of his son's exemplary

<sup>3</sup>Young, *The Rev. John Stuart and His Family*, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup>It may be noted that Professor Young refers (on p. 8, *Ibid.*), to Andrew Stuart's wife Mary as being Dinwiddie's daughter, but Sir Campbell Stuart, G. C. M. G., K. B. E., (great-great-grandson of the Rev. John Stuart) informs me that she was Dinwiddie's sister. (A comparison of their respective dates of birth demonstrates the impossibility of the former statement).—Author.

<sup>5</sup>Dinwiddie (who was born at Glasgow) began his career as Customs clerk in Bermuda in 1727 and was appointed Surveyor-General of Customs "of the southern ports of the Continent of America" in 1738, (c. f. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*). It seems probable that Andrew Stuart's marriage took place soon after that date.

<sup>6</sup>Young, *The Rev. John Stuart and His Family*, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup>i. e. James VI & I, James II and the Duke of Monmouth; Mary, daughter of Charles I, Princess of Orange, and Mary II, daughter of James II; Elizabeth, daughter of James I, Queen of Bohemia and ancestress of our present Royal House; Charles I and Charles II. Andrew's own name is that of the Patron Saint of Scotland; his father may have been called John which would account for his eldest son being so named. In earlier times John was a frequent Stuart (Stewart) name, Henry, Lord Darnley, husband of Mary Queen of Scots and father of James I, was the grandson of John Stewart, third, Earl of Lennox (died 1526), who was thus the ancestor of the Royal House.

Andrew's son John (the subject of this memoir) is variously stated to have been 6 ft. 4 in. and 6 ft. 2 in. in height: it may be something more than a coincidence that after the defeat of Charles II at the battle of Worcester, Parliament offered a reward for the capture of "Charles Stuart . . . a tall man above two yards high". Sir Campbell Stuart informs me that many of John Stuart's male descendants were over six feet tall.—Author.

The Rev. J. H. B. Mountain, D. D., (a son of the first Bishop of Quebec) wrote of John Stuart: "I remember him as a very fine elderly man, of lofty stature and powerful frame, . . . of a somewhat stately bearing as conceiving himself the lineal descendant of the legitimate Monarch, but merging that pride in the humility of his sacred function". E. Hawkins, *Annals of the Diocese of Toronto*, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup>Young, *The Parish Register of Kingston, 1785-1811*, p. 11.

forbearance Stuart's father finally capitulated and advised him to follow his own inclinations in this respect.<sup>9</sup> Meanwhile Stuart had come to the notice of Sir William Johnson, the great administrator of the Six Nations of the Iroquois, who as a most active member of the S. P. G. had founded several churches in the New York province and was deeply interested in the spiritual and educational advancement of the Mohawks. For upwards of seventy years the S. P. G. had maintained a mission at Fort Hunter, New York province, in the Mohawk country but since 1766 the post had remained vacant on the resignation of the former missionary.<sup>10</sup> Sir William decided that Stuart was the right man for the mission, and in April, 1770, Stuart sailed for England for ordination, taking with him a letter from Sir William to the S. P. G. in which the baronet suggested that Stuart, who was "well represented by the Clergy of Virginia for a Mission," should be appointed to Fort Hunter.<sup>11</sup> Stuart (who had taken his Master's degree earlier in the year) was accordingly ordained Deacon and Priest on the 19th and 24th August by Dr. Richard Terrick, Bishop of London.<sup>12</sup>

Soon after his ordination Stuart returned to America and arrived in New York in November, where he stayed for some days before proceeding to Fort Hunter.<sup>13</sup> In the following January he wrote his first letter to Dr. Burton,<sup>14</sup> Secretary of the S. P. G.:

Fort Hunter Jany. 30, 1771.

Revd. & worthy Sir,

I take the opportunity of acquainting the Venble. Society that on 2nd of December last I arrived at this Place and was kindly received by the Indians of this Village—they testified great Joy at my safe arrival, and desired me (with the greatest appearance of Sincerity) to thank the venerable Society, in their Name, for their former Care of them; and particularly for this last Instance of Kindness in providing for their spiritual Welfare by sending a Missionary amongst them.

On Christmas Day, I preached at Canajohare, about thirty miles distant and (by their particular Desire) administered the Holy Communion to twenty Indian Communicants;—they likewise acknowledge their Obligation to the Venerable Society for the appointment of Mr. Hall to reside among them.<sup>15</sup> The Sunday following I likewise administered the Holy Sacra-

<sup>9</sup>*Hawkins, Annals of the Diocese of Toronto*, p. 5.

<sup>10</sup>*J. W. Lydekker, The Faithful Mohawks*, *passim*.

<sup>11</sup>"B" MSS., Vol. 2, No. 93.

<sup>12</sup>*Young, The Rev. John Stuart and His Family*, p. 9.

<sup>13</sup>*Letter, The Rev. Charles Inglis to S. P. G.*, "B" MSS., Vol. 2, No. 66.

<sup>14</sup>*The Rev. Daniel Burton, D. D., Chancellor of the Diocese of Oxford and Rector of St. Peter le Poer, London. He was Secretary of the S. P. G. from 1761 until 1773.*

<sup>15</sup>*The S. P. G. had recently appointed Mr. (Edward) Hall schoolmaster to the Mohawks.*

ment of the Lord's Supper in the Mohawk Chapel at this Place, to four Indian Communicants and one White.

I preach constantly every Sunday in the Chapel, first to the Indians (after having the Service of the Church performed in their own Language) as often as I can have a proper Interpreter (we have not any Interpreter appointed yet, but hope soon to procure a proper Person for that Purpose) and afterwards, Divine Service is performed in English,—at which there is often a Congregation of two hundred Persons and upwards, some of which belong to other Professions, but the far greater Part have no fixed Place of Worship at all, and they are unanimous in declaring their approbation of the mode of Worship as performed by the Church of England,—so that from present appearances, and the Concurrence of several other favourable Circumstances, I have the greatest Reason to expect that the Religion of the Church of England will prevail in this Part of the Country. One great Difficulty that [the] poor People here complain of is the want of Prayer Books, which I have given them Reason to hope will be removed by the venerable Society's Bounty.

I make no Doubt but the venble. Society will consider their Case, and afford them what Assistance they think necessary—and I must likewise beg the Favour of having the Society's Allowance of Books sent me as soon as conveniently may be—for I found none at the Mission, and the Distance that I am removed into the Country prevents me from being supplied from any Library besides my own.

Thus Revd. Sir, I have given an Account of the present State of my Mission as near as I can judge—and hope that you will lay the same before the venerable Society.

I am, Revd. & worthy Sir,

Your most obedt. & very humble Servt.

JOHN STUART.<sup>16</sup>

N. B. Number of Infants Baptized 21.

The "Chapel" at Fort Hunter referred to in this letter had been built in Queen Anne's time inside the fort. It contained a beautiful gift of Communion Plate which had been presented by Queen Anne and which is inscribed with the Royal cypher and coat-of-arms, and the words:—"The Gift of Her Majesty Anne, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland and of her Plantations in North America, Queen, to her Indian Chappel of the Mohawks." This historic Plate is still preserved by the descendants of the recipients at Tyenderoga and Brantford, Ontario, which became the headquarters of the Mohawks after the Revolutionary War.

<sup>16</sup>"B" MSS., Vol. 2, No. 196.

In June Stuart again wrote to Dr. Burton:—

Fort Hunter. June 22 1771.

Revd. & worthy Sir,

In a letter dated Jany. 30th. I informed the Society of my safe Arrival at this Place in December last, and of the kind Reception I met with from the Mohawks—which I hope came safe to hand.

The Inhabitants of this Village are (old & young) about 170, the majority of which attend Divine Service every Sunday forenoon, (which I read to them in their own Language)—their Behaviour in Church is very decent & devout. I have applied myself to study their Language, which I find very difficult for want of proper assistance, none of them understand English even tolerably, and hitherto I have had no constant Interpreter. When I arrived I found many of them much addicted to Drunkenness which, I am sorry to say, is too much encouraged by the Examples of their White Neighbours; but their Sachems, or Head Men, having heartily concurred with me in every Measure adopted to suppress a custom so injurious to their temporal as well as spiritual welfare, we have in a great Degree conquered it.

The Chapel is very much out of Repair, having neither windows, Reading-Desk, nor Communion Table, & only a Pulpit of rough Boards—the Books belonging to it are all lost except the Bible. The Indians have now allowed a sum of money to repair it properly in the Inside, and to erect a small Cupola with a Bell, which I expect will be finished before Winter.

I have preach'd & administered the Sacrament twice at Canajohare (a Mohawk Village 30 miles distant) at the particular Desire of the Indians there—they are in number, Manners and Knowledge the same as the Inhabitants of this Village—they have an elegant little Church with a Cupola & Bell, built for them by Sr. William Johnson Bart.

I perform Divine Service & preach a Sermon in English every Sunday afternoon in the Mohawk Chapel to the White People who attend for that Purpose—the audience consists frequently of 150 Persons—the most of them are low Dutch and have no stated Place of Worship of their own—many of the younger sort of them have been baptised & instructed by the former Missionaries at this Place, and are well affected towards the Church,—some of them have already conformed, and I have great Reason to hope many more will soon follow their Example as their Prejudices gradually decrease the more they are acquainted with the Principles & Discipline of the Church. I have been as assiduous as possible, both in public & private, to conquer their Prejudices & inform their Understandings. I have given them Reason to expect the Society's assistance in procuring some Books proper for them, more especially Com-

mon Prayer Books, the want of which is a considerable Obstacle in their way. I must therefore beg that their Case may be considered, and such Relief afforded, as may be thought necessary. In order to further & encourage their present Dispositions, I have refused, hitherto, to receive any Gratification either for preaching or the other Offices of my Function.

I return my sincere Thanks to the Society for a Box of Books, for my own use, received in May last. I have the Pleasure of informing the Society likewise that Sr. Willm. Johnson affords me every assistance in his Power, either in Affairs relative to the Indians or otherwise. I send inclosed my *Notitia Parochialis*<sup>17</sup> from Decr. 1770 to June 1771. . . .

I hope the Society will favor me with Instructions from Time to Time which shall be punctually complied with,

by their most humb. Servt.

JOHN STUART.<sup>18</sup>

In the following month Stuart attended a great conference of the Iroquois at Sir William Johnson's seat, Johnson Hall, in the Mohawk Valley. Several gentlemen were present, including Sir William's nephew, Colonel Guy Johnson, and his son-in-law, Colonel Daniel Claus, who had been appointed to assist the baronet as "Deputy Agents" to the Indians. The Rev. William Andrews, the Society's missionary at Schenectady, also attended.<sup>19</sup>

In the following January Stuart wrote to the S. P. G. recording his activities for the past half year:—

Fort Hunter. January 8th. 1772

Revd. Sir,

I received your Favour and the Books the venerable Society was pleased to send for the use of this Congregation, for which the People desire to join with me in thanking the Society; they came very seasonably & have all been distributed, and scarcely answered the Demand there was for them.

I continue, as mentioned in my last, to perform divine Service to the Indians every Sunday forenoon in their own Language, but having no stated Interpreter 'tis but seldom that I can give them a Discourse in Church. I have taken every Method possible to attain their Language, in order to be as serviceable to them as the Nature of my Office requires: But I find it will require Length of Time and great Diligence before I can expect to arrive at any tolerable Facility in speaking it, partly from the Difficulty of articulating their peculiar Sounds and partly from the total want of the necessary Helps; for I have no other way of acquiring it but *viva voce*. They attend

<sup>17</sup> A statistical report sent half-yearly to the S. P. G. by its missionaries.

<sup>18</sup> "B" MSS. Vol. 2, No. 197.

<sup>19</sup> N. Y. Col. Docs., Vol. VIII, p. 282.

divine Service constantly & make the Responses with the greatest Regularity & seeming Devotion and indeed their whole Deportment in Church is such as is but rarely seen in religious Assemblies that have been better instructed.

Last Sunday I administered the Sacrament at Canajohare to 16 Communicants, and preached a Sermon by the Assistance of an Indian Interpreter: they expressed great Satisfaction & an earnest Desire to be further instructed, and said they would never be a happy People until they could have a Minister (as their Brethren at Fort Hunter) to reside among them to remind them constantly of their Duty and teach them the way to Heaven. I promised to visit them as often as possible until the Society could procure a suitable Person to reside there constantly. The Sacrament was administered here also, on Christmas Day, to 24 Communicants.

I preach a Sermon every Sunday afternoon in English, my Audience generally consists of 100 & upwards; the number of White Communicants is increased since my arrival here, from one to 16 and there is the greatest Probability of many more in a short Time, as several Families have embraced the Principles of the Church of England and constantly attend divine Service, altho not actual members as yet.

Sr. William Johnson has caused the Mohawk Chapel to be decently repaired with a new Floor, Pulpit, Reading Desk, Communion Table, Windows & Belfry, and likewise presented a suitable Bell for it—and Gratitude obliges me to acquaint the Society that Sr. William does every Thing in his Power to render my Life agreeable, and my Ministry useful, both to Indians & White People.

During these last 6 Months the number of Baptisms is:

Indian .....	4
Whites .....	19
Marriages .....	6
Burials .....	3

\* \* \* \* \*

The Prayer Book for the Mohawk Chapel is entirely lost & the Bible in bad Order—if the Society wou'd oblige us with new ones, it wou'd be esteemed a singular Favor.

I am, Revd. & worthy Sir,

The Society's & your most obedient & humbl. servt.

JOHN STUART, Missy. at F. H.<sup>19a</sup>

The difficulty which Stuart experienced in ministering to the Mohawks in their own language was soon removed by his obtaining the services of the celebrated Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) who

was then a young man of twenty-nine. This famous chieftain (as he afterwards became) was a protégé of Sir William Johnson who had sent him to be educated at Dr. Wheelock's school at Lebanon.<sup>20</sup> As a boy of thirteen, Brant had been with Sir William at the battle of Lake George and he had accompanied the expedition to Niagara in the following year. He was descended from the royal house of the Mohawks, and he became the paramount chief of the tribe which he led on the English side in the American Revolutionary War. Brant twice visited England, and on the first occasion George III conferred upon him the rank of Captain in the British Army in recognition of his services as an ally of Great Britain.<sup>21</sup>

In his next letter to the Society Stuart reported as follows:—

Fort Hunter, Tryon County. July 20th. 1772.

Revd. Sir,

I continue, as mentioned in my former Letter, to divide my Time & Labours between the Indian & White Inhabitants of this Place. The Indians, in general, behave decently and attend the public Worship of God with great Reverence & Devotion, and many of them discover Signs of Repentance & Amendment of Life; altho others still continue in their former State: the immoderate Use of spirituous Liquors is often attended with horrid Consequences, and all the Steps I have yet taken have proved ineffectual to prevent them—there appears in the Conduct of even the best of them something savage and cruel, especially when intoxicated. But they are respectful and obedient to me, and give extraordinary Attention to my Advice.

Their Language being so barren & difficult to acquire I thought it expedient to procure a young Man of their own Nation (who understands English) to reside with me as a private Tutor & public Interpreter<sup>22</sup>—by his Assistance I have given them a Sermon every Sunday since March, 'tis uncertain how long he will continue with me as I cannot afford him a sufficient Maintenance to induce him to neglect Hunting, & reside constantly here. The smallness of the Society's Funds & their extraordinary Expences have deterred me from making any Application for a small Allowance for him.—I chose rather to appropriate Part of my own Salary to that Use.

I have frequently visited the Indians at Canajohare, and

<sup>20</sup>The Rev. Eleazer Wheelock (1711-1779), a Congregationalist minister, had established a free school for Europeans and Indians at Lebanon, Conn.: In 1770 the school was removed to Hanover, New Hampshire, and incorporated as Dartmouth College in honour of Lord Dartmouth, Chairman of the Trustees.

<sup>21</sup>c. f. Stone's *Life of Joseph Brant* (1838) and J. W. Lydekker's *The Faithful Mohawks*, *passim*. (Brant's pedigree showing his descent from the Mohawk royal house will be found in Appendix B. of this latter work.)

<sup>22</sup>i. e. Joseph Brant.

baptized their Children, preach'd to them & administered the Holy Communion there—they frequently lament their Condition in being deprived of a settled Minister to administer these Ordinances to them & perform the other Duties annexed to his Office. In the Knowledge of Christianity they are nearly the same as their Brethren here, but their Practice is, in common, worse. I find it extremely difficult to act a conscientious Part among them, for, let their common Behaviour be what it will, they are desirous in general to partake of the Holy Communion. Now, to admit those who are notorious Drunkards & vicious in their Behaviour, brings a Scandal on Religion and offends the sober Part of their Brethren: and, to refuse them, reduces them to a kind of Despair and often urges them to commit worse Crimes than before; for they then are pointed at as bad Persons unfit for Society. My Method hitherto has been to admit the sober & to reject the notoriously vicious, altho I have been the Object of their Resentment for this Conduct and have narrowly escaped the Effects of it.

My White Congregation increases; Divine Service is performed every Sunday Evening in English in the Mohawk Chapel—the Audience is commonly about 100 Persons, of which 20 are Communicants, & the major Part of the Remainder professed Members of the Church of England. They have hitherto made me no Allowance for this Labour, and, whether they will or not, is doubtful: for tho they are numerous yet, generally, they are poor.

Upon the whole I have the Pleasure to acquaint the Society that my Ministry in this Place (through God's Blessing) appears to have been successful—a more affecting Sense of Religion—a more constant Attendance on public Worship, and a visible Amendment in the Lives of many, are the happy Fruits which daily appear.

During these six Months past the number of Marriages is 4—Baptisms 18—Burials 5.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Society's Glebe<sup>23</sup> being much out of Repair I applied to Sr. William Johnson for an Order to receive about £10 Sterling Rent due from sd. Glebe to the Society, in Order to enable me to make the House & Farm more convenient. But Sr. Wm. did not chuse to appropriate this money without particular Advice, and therefore advised me to apply to the Society for it. I hope the Society will allow me the same which shall be expended on the Farm with at least fifty Pounds more.

This, Revd. Sir, is a short and true Account of the present State of this Mission. I shall always be glad to have the Advice & Instructions of the Society if they can point out any Methods by which I may better serve the Interest of Christ & Religion, I will pay an unlimited Obedience.

<sup>23</sup>i. e. at Fort Hunter.

In the mean Time, Revd. Sir,  
 I am, with the greatest Respect,  
 Your Friend & humbl. Servt.

JOHN STUART.<sup>24</sup>

N. B. The Number of Commts.  
 on Whitsunday last was  
 Indian 14)  
 )  
 White 13)

In his next letter (written in January, 1773)<sup>25</sup> Stuart reported that Joseph Brant "being weary of Confinement and a regular Manner of living" had left him and returned to his home at Canajohare. However, the S. P. G. assisted Stuart by voting him a sum of £5 per year "towards the support of an Interpreter." The Society also allowed him the rent from the glebe at Fort Hunter.<sup>26</sup>

A year later Stuart sent the following letter to the S. P. G.:—

Fort Hunter, Tryon County, Feby. 13th. 1774.

Revd. Sir,

I take this Opportunity of laying before the Society the present State of this Mission.

The Indians here continue their regular Attendance on Divine Service. and their Morals are much improved since my Residence among them. But for want of a constant Interpreter, 'tis but seldom I have an Opportunity of preaching to them—the Liturgy, with Administration of the Sacraments of Baptism & the Lord's Supper, Marriage & the Office for the Burial of the Dead, I can read to them in their own Language—and am able to converse tolerably with them on common Subjects, but hitherto have not attempted to preach in the Mohawk Language—the Sterility of their Language (altho the most copious of any Indian Tongue on the Continent) renders it almost impossible for a Person who is not entirely Master of it, to convey to them any distinct Ideas on Divine Subjects—and altho the venerable Society promised an Allowance of five Pounds sterling per Ann: for an Interpreter, I cannot prevail with any Person capable to undertake that Office for double the Sum.

The Indians frequently complain of the want of Books in their own Language, and in order to remove this Complaint, I have used my utmost Endeavours to procure a good Translation of some small Tracts for them, viz. an Abridgement of the History of the Bible, a large & plain Explanation of the Church Catechism, and some Chapters out of the Gospels concerning the Birth, Life & Crucifixion of our Saviour.—There

<sup>24</sup>"B" MSS. Vol. 2, No. 199.

<sup>25</sup>The original letter is no longer extant but the gist of it (as with others) is preserved in the S. P. G. Journal, Vol. 19, pp. 407-8.

<sup>26</sup>Journal, Vol. 20, p. 9.

are 11 in great Forwardness and I hope to have them in the Press next Summer—Sr. Wm. Johnson has promised to have them printed for us, as soon as they are finished.

I returned last week from Canajohare (which I visit as often as possible) the Indians there are very desirous of having a Minister of their own, for altho I preach to them as frequently as I can, yet they are jealous of their Brethren here thinking that they are oblig'd to them for my Services, as I am not particularly oblig'd to attend them at stated Times: They appoint[ed] one from amongst themselves to perform Divine Service on Sundays, and earnestly begged of me to solicit the venerable Society for some small Allowance as an Encouragement to their Reader—four or five Pound sterling per Ann: would amply satisfy him.

I have likewise preach'd regularly on Sunday afternoon to the White People and catechized young Persons, ever since my Arrival here—they are not so regular in their Attendance as I cou'd wish, But generally the Congregation consists of near one hundred Persons, & sometimes far exceeds that Number.

There are now twenty two Indian Communicants & 5 Whites who received the Sacrament on Christmas last—I have married, during these six months last, two Couple, & baptized 7 Indian and 13 White Children, and buried 4 Indians. . . .

I am, Revd. Sir,

Your & the venerable Society's  
most obedt. & humbl. Servt.

JOHN STUART.<sup>27</sup>

It appears that the Lay Reader appointed by the Mohawks was Paulus (Sahonwadie),<sup>28</sup> the son of the former (Christian) paramount chief "King Hendrick" (Thoyanoguen), who was killed while leading a contingent of his tribesmen under Sir William Johnson at the battle of Lake George in 1755. Paulus had originally been appointed schoolmaster and Lay Reader at Fort Hunter some twenty years earlier by the Rev. Dr. Ogilvie,<sup>29</sup> a former S. P. G. missionary at Albany and Fort Hunter and later the senior curate at Trinity Church, New York.<sup>30</sup>

Meanwhile Sir William Johnson was seriously failing in health, and on 9 July of this year (1774) he suddenly expired in a fit of apoplexy during a conference with the Iroquois at Johnson Hall.<sup>31</sup> His death was a great blow to Stuart, and the S. P. G. suffered a severe loss by the death of one who had done so much to further its designs. Sir William's nephew, Colonel Guy Johnson, succeeded him as the Superintendent of the Six Nations with Colonel Daniel Claus as his

<sup>27</sup>"B" MSS. Vol. 2, No. 200.

<sup>28</sup>He was a first cousin of Joseph Brant's mother.

<sup>29</sup>The Rev. John Ogilvie, D. D. He died on 26 November of this year (1774).

<sup>30</sup>c. f. J. W. Lydekker's *The Faithful Mohawks*, *passim*.

<sup>31</sup>N. Y. Col. Docs., Vol. VIII, p. 479.

deputy, while the new baronet, Sir John Johnson, received his father's appointment as Major-General of the Militia.<sup>32</sup> In the following year these three gentlemen were elected members of the venerable Society.<sup>33</sup>

A month after Sir William's death Stuart wrote to Dr. Hind<sup>34</sup> who had succeeded Dr. Burton as Secretary of the S. P. G. on the latter's resignation:—

Fort Hunter, Tryon County, Augt. 9th. 1774.

Revd. Sir,

I take the Liberty of acquainting the venerable Society of the present State of this Mission; which I should have done sooner, had I not deferred it some Time, in Hopes that the Determination of some Things, long in Agitation, wou'd have enabled me to do it more fully.

I continue to perform Divine Service every Sunday forenoon in the Indian Chapel, in the Mohawk Language, to a regular & devout Congregation of Indians. And in the afternoon I preach to a large Assembly of white People, and catechize the young People of this Neighbourhood. The Church will contain upwards of 200, and is often nearly full—they chiefly profess themselves to be Members of the Church of England, but few of them can be persuaded to become Communicants, neither are they disposed to make me any Allowance for my public or private Administration. They have given ten Pounds currency to me, for three Years and a half's Service.

I likewise have visited the Indians at Canajohare, as usual,—and preach'd & administered the Sacrament to them—their Situation is really deplorable; For Drunkenness & Vice of every kind prevails amongst them to such a Degree, that several Times, I have not found a sufficient Number of them duly qualified, to whom I cou'd administer the Sacrament. However, they have Prayers read in their Church every Sunday, by an Indian of that Village, at which they generally attend.

Since the departure of the Revd. Mr. Mosley<sup>35</sup> from Johnstown, I have (at the Desire of Sr. Wm. Johnson) frequently officiated there,—and have lately consented to preach regularly, once every Month, on Sunday afternoon to the People of Johnstown until that Mission is supplied:—it being so nigh, that I can perform divine Service to the Indians at Fort Hunter, in the forenoon, and preach there in the afternoon of the same Day. I am sorry to say, that Mr. Mosley's Be-

<sup>32</sup>*N. Y. Col. Docs., Vol. VIII, p. 489.*

<sup>33</sup>*At a meeting held on 15 May 1775: Journal, Vol. 20, pp. 358-9.*

<sup>34</sup>*The Rev. Richard Hind, D. D., rector of St. Anne's, Westminster.*

<sup>35</sup>*The Rev. Richard Mosley, formerly S. P. G. missionary at Litchfield County, Conn: who became missionary at Johnstown (the village near Sir William's seat Johnson Hall) and resigned in 1773.*

haviour there has contributed to strengthen the Prejudices of many against the Church.

The Church of England has lost a powerful & zealous Protector by the Death of Sir William Johnson,—his Influence was always exerted in her Defense, when any Opportunity offered;—and indeed the Clergy of every Denomination have lost, in him, a generous Patron. His Death will be long regretted by all who knew him.

The Indians have long desired, that some pious Tracts, and particularly, that the New Testament might be translated into their Language;—Sr. William press'd me to prepare something of that Kind for the Press, and promised to pay the Expence of printing himself, in Consequence of which, I have, (with the Assistance of an Indian who understands English),<sup>36</sup> prepared a Translation of the Gospel of St. Mark,—with a large & plain Exposition of the Church Catechism & a compendious History of the Bible, all in the Mohawk Tongue—and they are now nearly ready for the Press. But, as no mention is made of this in Sir William's Will, I cannot expect his Heirs will perform it. I wou'd be glad of the venerable Society's Commands, in this Matter,—whether the Manuscripts when done shall be sent over to England?—or whether they wou'd chuse to be at the Expence of printing them in N. York or Philadelphia?

Affairs in America are, at present, in a very critical Situation & particularly in Regard to the Indians,—the Indians to the Southward are actually in Arms, having murdered several Hundreds of white People,—the *five Nations* here profess themselves Friends to the English yet, But are thought (by good Judges) to be wavering in their Judgment—and should the War become general, my Situation wou'd be by no means an eligible one . . . .<sup>37</sup>

Stuart's mention of an Indian rising at the end of this letter refers to what was known as "Cresap's War," after a Captain Michael Cresap, whose unnatural cruelty provoked it. The rising necessitated a punitive expedition, which put down the revolt in a fierce battle fought on 10 October between a force of 2,000 Provincial troops and the Indians under the celebrated Cayuga chief, John Logan (Tahgahjute).

#### MARRIAGE

Some months earlier (March) Stuart's father had died, his mother having passed away two years before (1772).<sup>38</sup> It was probably soon

<sup>36</sup>This was Joseph Brant.

<sup>37</sup>"B" MSS. Vol. 2, No. 201. (The closing sentence of this letter is not extant.)

<sup>38</sup>Young, *The Rev. John Stuart and His Family*, p. 8.

after his father's death that Stuart became engaged to be married. The lady of his affection was Jane, daughter of George Okill (by his wife Anne, nee Clarke), who was a younger brother of John Okill of Lee Hall, County Chester, England.<sup>39</sup> George Okill had emigrated to America and settled at Philadelphia, where he served as Church-warden of Christ Church in 1754-5.<sup>40</sup> Stuart had perhaps become acquainted with the Okill family while he was a student at Philadelphia College, when Jane Okill was a girl in her 'teens.<sup>41</sup> They were married at Philadelphia on 12 October, 1775,<sup>42</sup> and a few days later Stuart wrote a formal letter to the S. P. G.:—

Philada; October 17th. 1775.

Revd. Sir,

Being at this Place on important Business, I was under the Necessity of drawing on the Society for a half Years Salary some Time before it became due, and also for five Pounds allowed to Paulus<sup>43</sup> at Canajohare; I hope my Draught will be honoured as usual.

I had the Honour of receiving your Favor some Weeks ago, which I will answer punctually as soon as I arrive at New York, which will be in about eight Days hence. In the mean Time, I beg to subscribe myself,

Revd. Sir,

The Society's & Your very hum: Servt:

JOHN STUART<sup>44</sup>  
(Missionary at Fort Hunter.)

The "important Business" mentioned in the first paragraph of this letter obviously refers to his wedding, but Stuart seems to have been too reserved to mention to the Society such a personal matter as his marriage.

During his stay in Philadelphia Stuart began his long friendship with William White, then a young curate of Christ Church, who was

<sup>39</sup>Young, *The Rev. John Stuart and His Family*, pp. 8 and 63.

<sup>40</sup>Benjamin Dorr, *Historical Account of Christ Church, Philadelphia* (1841), p. 297. The Vestry Minutes of Christ Church contain the following (abbreviated) record of George Okill:—

1756. Feby. 3. A plan and estimate for building a wall "on the north side and west end of the church yard, and also for palisades in the front", having been submitted to the vestry by George Okill, "acting church warden", a committee was appointed to make collections for the above purposes . . . April 26. "Ordered, that as George Okill projected and began the wall now carrying around the church yard, he be appointed to supervise and carry on the same until it is complete . . . agreeable to the plan". *Ibid.*, p. 109.

George Okill died in 1757, Young, *The Rev. John Stuart and His Family*, p. 63.

<sup>41</sup>She was born on 8 July 1747, *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup>i. e. Paulus (Sahonwadie) the Lay Reader.

<sup>44</sup>"B" MSS., Vol. 2, No. 202.

destined to become the first bishop of Pennsylvania and one of the chief founders of the American Episcopal Church.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

In the meantime events of the utmost importance in the political atmosphere of the American Colonies had occurred. The long-standing irritation of the "Stamp Act" and other unpopular enactments of the English Parliament had at length resulted in the outbreak of the War of Independence at the battle of Lexington in the month of April. The majority of the Church of England clergy (particularly the missionaries of the S. P. G.) at once became the objects of popular tyranny and persecution by remaining true to their ordination oath and adhering in their loyalty to the Crown. At the first hint of trouble Stuart had taken a firm stand on the side of the loyalists and this had brought him to the notice of the commissioners for the Indian Department, who had been appointed by the second Continental Congress to maintain the neutrality of the various tribes in the impending struggle. In the latter half of August the commissioners for the northern division<sup>45</sup> held a conference with the Iroquois at Albany, and at this meeting the Mohawk *sachem* of Canajohare named "Little Abraham" (Tyorhansera)<sup>46</sup> has assured the commissioners of the peaceful intentions of his tribe and had requested, in the following words, that Stuart, their missionary, should not be molested:—

"Our father the minister was sent us by the King. He does not meddle in civil affairs, but instructs us in the way to Heaven. He absolutely refuses to attend to any political matters and says they do not belong to him. We beg he may continue in peace among us. The Mohawks are frequently alarmed with reports that their minister is to be torn away from them. It would occasion great disturbance, were he to be taken away. The King sent him to us and we should look upon it as taking away one of our own body. Therefore we again request that he may continue to live in peace among us."<sup>47</sup>

On the following day the commissioners made their answer in which they agreed *inter alia* not to molest Stuart, who was, they declared, "Such a man as we love, and we are desirous of his remaining quiet and happy with you."<sup>48</sup> It may be that the commissioners were

<sup>45</sup>Separate commissioners had been appointed for the northern, middle and southern divisions.

<sup>46</sup>He was the son of the sachem "Old Abraham" who was a brother of the former paramount chief, "King Hendrick", c. f. J. W. Lydekker, *The Faithful Mohawks, Appendix B.*

<sup>47</sup>N. Y. Col. Docs., Vol. VIII, pp. 621-3.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 625.

quite honest in their intentions, but subsequent events were to prove very different for Stuart's welfare.

A fortnight after his marriage Stuart was back in New York, and before leaving for Fort Hunter he sent the following letter to the S. P. G. :—

New York, October 27. 1775.

Revd. Sir,

I received your kind Favor some months ago, and must now apologize for not answering it sooner.—I communicated the Contents of it to Sir John Johnson, in Expectation that he wou'd inform me what answer I shou'd return to that Part of it respecting himself, which he has hitherto declined to do—and the Situation of public Affairs here has made it difficult to convey any Letters to England, without being examined publicly & exposed. But now being here, I have a safe Conveyance by the Packet, and shall give the best Answer I can, to the Queries you were pleased to propose, in Regard to the Mission at Johnstown.

I have not been able to learn what Sr. William gave to the former Missionary; but as far as I can judge, Sr. John will not be disposod to give any Thing considerable—there is a small Glebe of sixty Acres which he says he will give; but there is no House upon it, neither has he obtained a Charter for the Church, without which the Incumbent can have no Right to the Glebe.

The Congregation gave me an Invitation (about a year ago) to officiate there, once a fortnight, and they opened a Subscription for me, which amounted to something above £30 Currency;—but the greater Part of the Subscribers have been obliged to retire into Canada in consequence of our present Troubles by which I shall not receive any Thing this year. The People chearfully promised to pay what they subscribed, but they are in general poor; & altho there is a Prospect of a large Congregation in some years, yet there can but little be expected from them for some years to come.

I have done the Duty of that Parish constantly ever since my Arrival in the Country (unless during Mr. Mosley's Residence) and have never received one Shilling for my Services; and I wou'd not now solicit any Thing, was (*sic*) I in such Circumstances as to enable me to live decently without it. But, as I have no Support but my Salary from England, I find that inadequate to the Expence of travelling from one Part of my present Charge to the other. Nevertheless, as long as I can think myself useful either to the poor Indians or Whites, in that remote Corner of the World, I am determined to submit chearfully to every Inconvenience that may attend the Prosecution of so important & valuable End, as the Propagation of the Gospel among them. It really gives me Pain to be under the

Necessity of applying to the Society (in their present Circumstances) for any additional Allowance; But, after they are acquainted with my Situation, I leave it entirely to them to judge of the Reasonableness of my Request;—If it shou'd be thought expedient to unite the Missions of Johnstown & Fort Hunter, I think, in a few years, the People at Johnstown will be able to contribute as much to a Missionary as will enable him to live comfortably without any Assistance from the Society—shou'd the Society adopt this plan & think proper to appoint me to that Charge, I cou'd officiate there every Sunday afternoon without any Detriment to my Indian Charge, and the greater Part of my white Congregation about Fort Hunter cou'd conveniently attend at Johnstown, as the Distance from the one to the other does not exceed seven Miles.

The Indians are much attached to me, and have publickly declared that they will support & defend me, while I reside amongst them; And I am sorry to say, that I depend (at present) more on their Protection than that of those from whom more might be expected.—The Translations cannot now be completed as the Indian<sup>49</sup> who undertook them is now with Guy Johnson, the Superintendent, in Canada, and perhaps he is the only Person in America equal to such an Undertaking.—Whenever they can be finished, I'll comply with the Directions of the Society and submit the whole to Dr. Auchmuthy's<sup>50</sup> Inspection.

I have appointed Paulus Reader at Canajohare, and shall be very particular in inspecting his Conduct.—I have drawn upon the Treasurer for his Salary, together with my own for half a year, some Time before due.—This I shou'd not have done had I not been in much want of Money while in Philadelphia.—The Bill is drawn in favor of Mr. Morris of that Place.

There is a certain Mr. Ross who has had the Charge of the School at Johnstown; and as far as I can judge he discharges that Trust with Care & Fidelity.—The Children under his Care are catechized regularly in Church.—I cannot give my Notitia at present, but will send it by the next Opportunity.

I am, Revd, Sir,  
Your & the Society's  
very huml. Servant

JOHN STUART.<sup>51</sup>

On his return to Fort Hunter, Stuart was left in peace for some considerable time and he continued his ordinary duties among his flock.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup>This was Joseph Brant. He had gone with Col. Guy Johnson and some Indian auxiliaries to fight the Americans on the Canadian border. In November Brant accompanied Col. Johnson to England.

<sup>50</sup>The Rev. Samuel Auchmuthy, D. D. From 1747-1764 he was in charge of the S. P. G. Negro mission at New York, when he succeeded the Rev. Henry Barclay, D. D., as rector of Trinity Church.

<sup>51</sup>"B" MSS. Vol. 2, No. 203.

<sup>52</sup>Doc. Hist. of N. Y., E. B. O'Callaghan ed. Vol. IV, p. 508.

In the next year (29 June, 1776) his eldest child was born at Fort Hunter and received the names of George Okill (Stuart) after Mrs. Stuart's father.<sup>53</sup>

For several months Stuart remained quietly at his Mission, but in the Spring of 1777 General Nicholas Herkimer, the president of the Tryon County (revolutionary) Committee, received information that some residents of this county intended to join the loyalist troops at Niagara. He thereupon posted a guard on the high road which surprised a party of loyalists, who retreated and lost their bundles in their flight. On the next day, two packages of letters were picked up near the road. One of the letters, which bore no signature, was believed to be in Stuart's handwriting, and the packages were then sent by Herkimer to the Provincial Congress. When the letters were examined they were found to be of no material importance and were returned to the Tryon County Committee.<sup>54</sup> Stuart, however, was now under strong suspicion; most of the loyal Mohawks who had befriended him had by this time joined the loyalist forces, and his position was becoming daily more dangerous. In June the opportune appearance of Joseph Brant and his warriors probably saved him from arrest at the hands of General Herkimer, and at Brant's request Herkimer agreed that Stuart should be allowed to retire to Canada, but this promise was not fulfilled.<sup>55</sup>

Meanwhile the war was being waged with increasing intensity and the "patriot" armies were achieving considerable successes. In August of this year (1777) Brigadier St. Leger with a strong force of British regulars, Hessians, Johnson's "Royal Greens"<sup>56</sup> and 800 Indians under Brant made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Fort Stanwix, and in October General Burgoyne (with whom St. Leger had intended to join forces) was compelled to surrender with his whole army at Saratoga. As a result of these successes the "patriot" feeling became intensified against the loyalists, and a few months later Stuart became the object

<sup>53</sup>Young, *The Rev. John Stuart and His Family*, p. 9. George Okill Stuart became Archdeacon of Kingston and Dean of Ontario. The Rev. John Stuart's other children were: John, born at Fort Hunter 1777 (?); he became Sheriff of the Johnstown District: James, born at Fort Hunter 2 (or 4) March 1780; he became Chief Justice of Lower Canada and was made a baronet: Charles, born at Montreal 31 (?) March 1782; he became Sheriff of the Midland District, Upper Canada: Mary, born at Montreal 5 September 1783 and died in infancy: Jane, born at Montreal 17 October 1784: Andrew, baptized at Kingston 7 December 1785; he became Solicitor-General of Lower Canada: Mary, born at Kingston 19 May 1787: Ann, baptized at Kingston 25 June 1790. *Ibid.*, *passim*.

<sup>54</sup>Doc. *Hist. of N. Y.*, Vol. IV, p. 508.

<sup>55</sup>W. L. Stone, *Life of Joseph Brant*, Vol. I, p. 186. In this episode Brant himself narrowly escaped being murdered by Herkimer who had arranged a meeting with him and at the same time had suggested to one of his soldiers that he should shoot Brant during the interview. Brant, however, was aware of some such design and contrived to conceal 500 of his warriors nearby who suddenly rushed forward and surrounded Herkimer and his officers. *Ibid.*, pp. 181 et seq.

<sup>56</sup>A regiment of Loyalists raised and commanded by Sir John Johnson.

of their particular animosity from his relations with the Mohawks and his connection with the Johnson family. An armed mob attacked his house, plundered his property and looted his church, and he was forced to take temporary refuge at Schenectady. In June (1778) the committee for detecting conspiracies received information that "Mr. Stuart would have it in his power to convey Intelligence from that place [Schenectady] to the Indians, and as he had always been a declared Enemy to the Liberties of America, it would be necessary to order him down the Country," and two weeks later Stuart was ordered to "repair with his family forthwith to the State of Connecticut until his exchange could be procured, and that he set off in four days after this Resolution is delivered to him, and on his failure to comply herewith it is ordered that he be put in close confinement."<sup>57</sup>

Two days after this order Stuart appeared before the commissioners and "declared his readiness to convince them that he had not corresponded with the enemy, and that he was ready and willing to enter into any engagement for the faithful performance of such matters as might be enjoyned him." The commissioners thereupon resolved that he should "enter into Parole not to do or say anything in opposition to the Measures pursued by the Congress of the United States of America, or by the Legislative or Executive Powers of either of the said States, and that he shall and will not hold any correspondence by word or deed upon political Matters with any of the Enemies of the said United States of America or either of them, and not to depart the Limits of the Town of Schenectady without permission from one of the Members of this Board."<sup>58</sup>

In obedience to this order Stuart returned to Schenectady, whence he wrote on 28 September to his friend, the Rev. William White of Philadelphia:—

My Situation is rather disagreeable, being deserted by almost all my Congregation. There remains only three families, the others having, at different times, joined the King's Forces. I have not preached within these last two years.<sup>59</sup>

Stuart remained at Schenectady during the winter, but in the following year (1779) he removed to Albany as a punitive expedition under General John Sullivan was about to be sent to the country round Schenectady by the American Congress to attack the Mohawks

<sup>57</sup>Minutes of the Commissioners for Detecting Conspiracies, I, pp. 69, 87-88, quoted in Doc. Hist. of N. Y., Vol. IV, pp. 509-510.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Doc. Hist. of N. Y., Vol. IV, p. 510. (A footnote states that extracts from Stuart's correspondence with White were furnished by his grandson, George Okill Stuart of Quebec, to the editor of this work.)

and their allies as a reprisal for their memorable invasion of Cherry Valley under Captain Walter Butler and Brant. But on 23 June the authorities ordered Stuart to return to Schenectady and he was forced to comply.<sup>60</sup>

In the Spring of 1780 the Indians again attacked the Mohawk Valley in spite of a crushing defeat which General Sullivan had inflicted upon them in the previous October at Newtown, and Stuart again thought it prudent to take refuge at Albany. For several hours previous to his retirement the guns of the opposing forces could be plainly heard, and in a letter describing these events he added, "We could see several houses in flames from our Windows."<sup>61</sup>

During his residence at Schenectady Stuart received much civility from General Philip John Schuyler, who gave him permission to visit Philadelphia, his wife's former home. One day while walking through the city he came upon a crowd of people who were listening to an impassioned speech by a young "patriot." One of the bystanders happened to make a flattering remark as to the personal appearance of the orator and Stuart, in an unguarded moment, made a humorous and disparaging comment on the same subject. This aroused a storm of indignation and a hostile mob soon followed Stuart to his lodgings with the intention of assaulting him. Although he received warning from a friend he determined to face the angry people, and had it not been for the timely arrival of William White<sup>62</sup> with some influential residents who pacified his would-be assailants, he would have been very roughly handled.<sup>63</sup>

On his return to Schenectady Stuart found that matters had not improved and he decided to emigrate to Canada. In a letter to White he explained the reasons for his decision:—

I arrived here safe in eight days from the Time I parted with you, and found my Family well, and after being sufficiently affrighted, the Enemy having been within twenty miles of this Place, had [been] within one mile of my House in the Country without doing me any Damage. The particulars you have heard I suppose,—they retreated with the Loss of about 30 taken, & few or none killed . . . Considering the present situation of Affairs in this Part of the Province, I am fully persuaded, that I cannot possibly live here secure, either in regard to ourselves or Property during the ensuing Season;—this Place is

<sup>60</sup>Minutes of the Commissioners for Detecting Conspiracies, II, 28 June 1779, quoted in *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, Vol. IV, p. 510.

<sup>61</sup>Letter to William White dated 12 June 1780, quoted in *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, Vol. IV, p. 510.

<sup>62</sup>White was in strong sympathy with the "Patriots". In the previous year he had been elected rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church and he exerted considerable influence in the city; Dorr, *Historical Account of Christ Church Philadelphia*, p. 194.

<sup>63</sup>Letter from G. O. Stuart, quoted in *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, Vol. IV, p. 511.

likely to be a Frontier, & will probably be burnt if the Enemy can effect it. I have lost a considerable Part of my stock while in Philadelphia, partly by public and partly by private Robbers. For these and other weighty Reasons, maturely weighed, I have resolved (with the Approbation & Consent of Mrs. Stuart) to emigrate to Canada; and have made Application for an Exchange, which I have reason to believe will be granted.<sup>64</sup>

Some months elapsed, however, before Stuart made his application which he addressed to General George Clinton, governor of New York State:<sup>65</sup>—

May it Please Your Excellency—

Having been a Prisoner on Parole to the Commissioners of Conspiracy for these two Years past, and confined to the Town of Scenectady, not being allowed to reside on my Farm<sup>66</sup>—my Property not protected—These, with other Reasons, induce me to wish for Permission to remove to Canada with my Family:—I have therefore presumed to apply to your Excellency for Permission to be exchanged for some Citizen of this State now a Prisoner in Canada, and that I may be allowed to go under the Protection of the first public Flag.—I will do myself the Honor to wait personally upon your Excellency at any Hour that may be convenient.—An Answer from your Excellency will much oblige

Albany March 30th 1781.

Your most obedient  
& very humble Servt.

JOHN STUART.<sup>67</sup>

The necessary permission was granted on the same day, and in his next letter Stuart explained to White the conditions on which it was obtained:—

Schenectady, 17th, April, 1781.

. . . Being considered as a Prisoner of War and having forfeited my Estate, I have given £400 Security to send in exchange for myself one Prisoner out of four nominated by the Governor, viz. one Colonel, two Captains, and one Lieutenant, either of which will be accepted in my stead. Or if neither off the Prisoners aforesaid can be obtained I am to return as a Prisoner of War to Albany when required. My personal Property I am permitted to sell or carry with me according to my

<sup>64</sup>Letter dated 13 November 1780, quoted in *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, Vol. IV, p. 511.

<sup>65</sup>*Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, Vol. IV, pp. 511-512.

<sup>66</sup>i. e. the Glebe at Fort Hunter.

<sup>67</sup>*Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, Vol. IV, p. 511-512.

own Convenience; and am to proceed under the Protection of a public Flag as soon as it will be safe and convenient for Women and Children to travel that course. We are to proceed from hence to Fort Ann in Waggons and from thence in Batteaus. Believe me, Dear Sir, I have had Occasion to exert all my Resolution before I could venture on the Difficulties that presented themselves as the probable Concomitants of this Journey; But from a variety of Circumstances, peculiar to my personal and local Situation, I had no Alternative; therefore, let the Event be as it will, I shall not think myself accountable for [the] Consequences; the more especially as Mrs. Stuart is perfectly reconciled to the Expediency and Necessity of the Measure. 'Tis probable that, if I reach Canada, I may obtain a Chaplaincy in Sir John Johnson's 2d. Battalion of Royal Yorkers which is nearly complete, and on the Establishment . . .

I mean to leave nothing behind me here that may impose any Necessity upon me of returning to this Place (provided such a Thing is possible) when the War is at an End. I can dispose of all my Effects either for cash or good bills on Canada, my Negroes being personal Property<sup>69</sup> I take with me, one of which being a young Man and capable of bearing Arms I have given £100 Security, to send back a White Prisoner in his stead.<sup>70</sup>

## PART II: IN CANADA

### REMOVAL TO CANADA

A further five months passed before Stuart and his family set out for Canada on 17 September, 1781. The journey occupied three weeks and they arrived at St. John's on 9 October. From there they went to Montreal, where Stuart wrote to the Secretary of the S. P. G., the Rev. William Morice, D. D., who had succeeded Dr. Hind in 1778:—

Montreal October 13th, 1781.

Sir,

No doubt but the venerable Society is surprised that they have not heard from me during the four years past;<sup>71</sup> yet I flatter myself the following Narrative of my Situation will sufficiently apologise for my Silence.

At the Commencement of the unhappy Contest betwixt Great Britain & her Colonies, I acquainted the Society of the firm Reliance I had on ye Fidelity and Loyalty of my Congregation; which has justified my Opinion:—For the faithful

<sup>69</sup>The clergy as well as laymen kept slaves; it would seem that the moral right so to do had not then come in question.

<sup>70</sup>Doc. Hist. of N. Y., Vol. IV, p. 512.

<sup>71</sup>If Stuart in fact wrote to the S. P. G. his letters must have miscarried as there are none extant, nor any mention thereof in the Society's Journal, since the letter which he wrote six (not four) years before in October 1775.

Mohawks, rather than swerve from their Allegiance, chose rather to abandon their Dwellings & Property; and accordingly went in a Body to Genl. Burgoyne, & afterwards were obliged to take Shelter in Canada. While they remained at Fort Hunter I continued to officiate as usual, performing the public Service intire, even after the Declaration of Independence, notwithstanding by so doing I incurred the Penalty of High-Treason, by the new Laws.

As soon as my Protectors *i. e.* the Mohawks were fled, I was made a Prisoner, within the Space of four Days, or be put into close Confinement; and this only upon Suspicion that I was a loyal Subject of the King of Great Britain. Upon this, I was admitted to Parole, and confined to the Limits of the Town of Schenectady, in which Situation I remained for upwards of three years. My House has been frequently broken open by Mobs;—my Property plundered, and indeed every Kind of Indignity offered to my Person by the lowest of the Populace;—At length my Farm and the Produce of it was formally taken from me in May last, as forfeited to the State, and as the last Resource I proposed to open a Latin School for the Support of my Family; But this Privilege was denied, on Pretence that as a Prisoner of War, I was not intitled to exercise any lucrative Occupation in the State. I then applied for Permission to remove to Canada, which after much Difficulty & Expence I obtained upon the following Conditions:—to give Bail in the Sum of £400 to send a rebel Colonel in my Room, or else return to Albany, and surrender myself Prisoner whenever required. In Consequence of which, I set out on my Journey from Schenectady on the 19th of September last with my Wife & three small Children; and after suffering much Fatigue & Difficulty we arrived safe at St. John's in Canada on the 9th instant. The Mohawks are extremely happy at my Arrival, & flatter themselves that I will reside among them; But, having left the most Part of my private Property, by the depreciation of the Paper Currency & other Accidents peculiar to the Times,— And having a Family to maintain in this very expensive Place, I shall be under the Necessity of accepting of a Chaplaincy, which Sr. John Johnson (with his wonted Kindness) is pleased to offer me in his Second Battalion.

I cannot omit to mention that my Church was plundered by the Rebels, & the Pulpit Cloth taken away from the Pulpit—it was afterwards employed as a Tavern, the Barrel of Rum placed in the Reading Desk,—the succeeding Season it was used as a Stable—And now serves as a Fort to protect a Set of as great Villains as ever disgraced Humanity.

I left the Books belonging to the Mission with a Friend in Schenectady, as also the Church Plate, not thinking it safe to risque it with my own Baggage, not being under the protection of a Flag.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>72</sup>This was during Stuart's flight from Fort Hunter to Schenectady.

My Papers being mislaid, I cannot send the *Notitia parochialis* at present altho the Number of Baptisms has been comparatively small, none applying to me except a few distressed Loyalists. I have not preached a Sermon since the Declaration of Independence.

The Society's Schoolmaster<sup>73</sup> at Fort Hunter being very infirm and in very low Circumstances prevailed on me to purchase his Bill for 3 years Salary (no other Person being willing to buy them) which I have indorsed to Mr. Ellice, I hope the Society will honour.

I have also taken the Liberty to draw on their Treasurer for £200 Ster: which I hope will be paid as usual.—I have been informed that a Subscription was set on Foot in England for distressed Missionaries, and some of my Brethren have received their Proportion; But my Confinement and remote Situation have prevented me from the Benefit of it, neither do I know where or how to apply for it.—

As soon as I can settle my Family in a convenient Situation I expect to visit the Mohawks (distant 7 Miles from hence) and shall continue to officiate occasionally for them, bestowing as much Attention on them as possible. I shall endeavour to write again to the Society this Fall, and shall from Time to Time give an Account of my Proceedings. In the mean Time I am,

With great Respect,  
Sir,  
your very huml. Servant  
JOHN STUART.<sup>74</sup>

As mentioned briefly in this letter, the loyal Mohawks (who had been exiled by the revolutionary government from their homes) had taken temporary refuge near the Niagara river. Here they were visited by Stuart as often as he could spare the time from his other duties.

#### CHAPLAIN AND EDUCATOR

A year later Stuart again wrote to Dr. Morice:—

Sir,

Having informed the venerable Society of my Arrival here in October last, and given a circumstantial Account of my Conduct & Situation whilst among the Rebels: I have only to add, at present, that as soon as I procured a Settlement for my Family, I repaired to the Mohawk Village & was welcomed very affectionately by my Indian Flock: they voluntarily proposed to build a House for me, that I might reside amongst them as formerly. But, notwithstanding this Token of their Affection

<sup>73</sup>i. e. Mr. Ross.

<sup>74</sup>"B" MSS., Vol. 2, No. 204.

was very pleasing to me, yet I did not find it convenient to accept their Proposal.

I thought proper to fix my Residence here, & attend them once a month; and, in the intermediate Time, the Indian Clerk reads Prayers, at which the whole Congregation attends with great Devotion.

Soon after my Arrival here I was appointed Chaplain to the 2d Battn. of the Royal Yorkers, and have met with every Encouragement & Indulgence from the Commander in Chief<sup>75</sup> that I could reasonably expect.

I officiate regularly, once a month, at the Garrison of St. John's, 30 Miles distant from hence.

And, in November last, I opened a[n] Academy in this Town for the Instruction of Youth; an Institution that was much wanted—Altho one Part of my Intention I have not been able to put in Practice; that is, to catechize & instruct my Pupils in Public. For there is no Church here that can be obtained for that purpose.

I administered the Communion on Christmas last to 11 Indian Communicants, & on the Easter Sunday following to 13 do :—

I have baptized 17 Indian Children since my Arrival here, and 79 Infants belonging to different Regiments, Loyalists, &c. also 5 Adults. . . .

I am, Revd. Sir,

Your & the Society's

most obedt: & very huml: Servt.

JOHN STUART.<sup>76</sup>

Montreal 7th October  
1782.

Revd. Dr. Morice.

The “Academy” which Stuart had opened was partnered by him with a Mr. Christie, who had previously acted as a schoolmaster in Montreal. Unfortunately, Christie proved to be quite incompetent, and in the report on the school dated 27 November (1782) Stuart stated that his colleague was unable to teach even the lowest classes. In a letter to Sir Frederick Haldimand, Stuart wrote:—

I could have dispensed with his Ignorance of the English Language even, and his faulty Accent, but when I found him unacquainted with the Rules of common Arithmetic, and often obliged to apply to me in the Presence of the Pupils for the Solution of the most simple Questions, I could no longer doubt of his inefficiency.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>75</sup>This was Sir Frederick Haldimand.

<sup>76</sup>“B” MSS. Vol. 2, No. 205. This is the last extant letter from Stuart in the S. P. G. Archives. His subsequent correspondence with the Society is excerpted in the Journal.

<sup>77</sup>Canadian Archives, Series B., Vol. 152, p. 281, (quoted in H. C. Stuart's The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793.)

Christie was accordingly dismissed, and a new master was engaged to assist with the forty-four pupils at the school.<sup>78</sup>

About this time a large number of the Mohawks near Montreal removed to Niagara, where some of the tribe had already settled. In a letter to the Society dated 4 July, 1783, Stuart referred to this occurrence and to his own activities:—

... he continues regularly to visit, once a month, and perform Divine Service among, the Mohawks . . . Last Autumn a majority of them thought it expedient to remove to Niagara and join their brethren there who had formed a village near that place: and, no doubt, had not the boundaries now fixed by the Peace<sup>79</sup> brought this place within the jurisdiction of the [United] States, the whole Nation would have settled there. Where their future residence will be is uncertain; but it certainly will be somewhere within the limits of the British Government. At present they are with Sir John Johnson, attending a meeting of the tribes at Niagara.

From Schenectady, Mr. Stuart hears, the plate belonging to the Mohawk Chapel is yet safe; as also the furniture of the reading-desk and Communion-Table. The pulpit covering was stolen when the Church was plundered: Neither is the Society's farm [*i. e.* glebe] at Fort Hunter considered by the State to be forfeited. The plate and books belonging to the Mission he has thought proper to order to be sent to Montreal by the first conveyance; and he waits for the directions of the Society as to the rents of the farm. By permission of the Commander-in-Chief, Mr. Stuart has resided at Montreal. . . .<sup>80</sup>

In the following October Stuart gave his prospects in, and his impressions of, his new home in a letter to William White:—

I have no Reason hitherto to dislike my Change of Climate, but as a Reduction must soon take Place, my Emoluments will be much diminished, neither have I any flattering Prospect of an eligible Situation in the way of my Profession as there are (as yet) only three Protestant Parishes in this province, the Pastors of which are Frenchmen, and as likely to live as I am.

<sup>78</sup>*Canadian Archives, Series B., Vol. 152, p. 281, (quoted in H. C. Stuart's, The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793), p. 54.*

<sup>79</sup>*i. e. The preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain and the United States were signed Nov. 30, 1782, at Paris; the definitive Treaty of Peace was not signed until Sept. 3, 1783, at Paris. It may be noted that in spite of their loyal adherence to the English Crown, not only was no provision made for the Mohawks but by the terms of the Peace-Treaty, England "relinquished all claims to the government, property and territorial rights" of the thirteen States, and thus "the ancient country of the Six Nations, the residence of their ancestors from far beyond their earliest traditions, was included within the boundary of the Americans"; vide The Memorial of the Six Nations presented to Lord Chancellor Camden, (quoted in Stone's Life of Joseph Brant, Vol. II, p. 238.)*

<sup>80</sup>*Journal, Vol. 23, pp. 169-170.*

We promise ourselves a Change of the present Form of Government but that is a Contingency and may be further distant than our Expectation. . . . This Season has been uncommonly rainy and we have had Frost in July and could sit very comfortably at a good Fire early in August or even some Times in June. This you will think pretty cold.—But as People of our Description are supposed to have some warm Particles in our Composition we must let the Heat and the Cold balance each other. However, the Climate and the Soil are extremely fertile affording the Necessaries of Life in great Abundance. . . .<sup>81</sup>

#### RE-SETTLEMENT OF THE MOHAWKS

Meanwhile the question of the Mohawks' permanent settlement had been discussed by Joseph Brant with the governor, Sir Frederick Haldimand, who agreed that a tract of land situated on the Bay of Quinté, on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, should be conveyed to them. Many of the Mohawks removed to the Bay, but (as will be seen in the following letter) Brant and some of the *Sachems* wished to settle on the Grand River. After a further discussion with Haldimand the governor made a grant in the name of the Crown of some 1,200 square miles on the Grand River, where soon after the town of Brantford (named after the Chief) was founded.<sup>82</sup>

On 25 May (1784) Stuart wrote to the Society:—

. . . that a part of the Mohawks having removed, last summer, from La Chine to Niagara, the remainder of them set out at the beginning of May, for a place called the Bay of Kenty [*i. e.* Quinté], 40 miles above Cataraqui [now Kingston] to take possession of lands assigned them by Genl. Haldimand. It is not yet determined whether the whole Tribe, together with their brethren of Canajohare, will unite in this new settlement, as Captain Brant, with a number of the Mohawk and Canajohare Chiefs, have in contemplation to form a grand settlement on a river, 40 miles above Niagara, on the Canada side of the Lake; being encouraged to this, partly by the mildness of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the convenience of hunting. But those of the Mohawks who are actually gone to the Bay of Kenty are determined to remain there, that they may enjoy the advantages of having a missionary, schoolmaster, and church. And as their schoolmaster, Colin McLeland, is superannuated and (notwithstanding his loyalty) has never been able to join them near Montreal, they earnestly desired that another might be appointed in his room. Mr. Stuart, therefore, recommended Lewis Vincent, a young Loretto Indian, who understands their language, and has had a tolerable edu-

<sup>81</sup>Letter dated 14 October 1783, (*quoted in Doc. Hist. of N. Y. Vol. IV, 514.*)

<sup>82</sup>c. *i. J. W. Lydekker, The Faithful Mohawks, pp. 170-171.*

cation and a competent knowledge of the French and English languages. He was an assistant in Mr. Stuart's school for some months: and Mr. Stuart conceived a favourable opinion of his morals and capacity. Sir John Johnson and Col. Claus having also approved of him, he is gone with the Mohawks to the Bay of Kent to act in the capacity of a schoolmaster and catechist, until the Society's pleasure is known . . . Mr. Stuart being determined, he says, not to defer his intended visit to the Mohawks near Niagara, has made the proper dispositions for setting out almost immediately. He is induced to undertake this journey, partly on their account, and partly from the consideration that there has not been a resident clergyman at that garrison during the whole course of the late war.

Notwithstanding he has thought it his duty to continue his services as missionary to the Mohawks, yet, considering the remote situation in an entire wilderness, his own large and growing family, and above all, the unsettled state of public affairs, he has thought proper to apply for the chaplaincy at Cataraqui, provided such an appointment is thought expedient . . . His intention is to reside in, or near, the garrison, presuming that . . . he may be more extensively useful in dividing his time betwixt the Mohawks and the new settlement of Loyalist, at least until more clergymen are appointed. . . .<sup>83</sup>

To this suggestion (as well as the appointment of Lewis Vincent) the Society agreed, adding a rider that an application should be made to the authorities for a glebe for Stuart, and that "the people be required to make such a subscription as their present circumstances will enable them" towards their missionary's support.<sup>84</sup>

A week later Stuart set out on his tour to Niagara, and on his return to Montreal he sent an account of his journey in his next letter to the Society, dated 17 July:—

. . . Agreeably to my Intention, mentioned in my Letter of May last, I set out from hence the 2d. of June, and arrived at Niagara on the 18th; visiting on my Way all the new Settlements of Loyalists on the River and Lake. On the Sunday after I landed I preached to the Garrison; and to satisfy the eager Expectations of the Mohawks, I proceeded on horseback, the afternoon of the same Day, to their Village nine Miles distant, and officiated in their Church. After a short Intermission, we returned to the Church, and I baptized seventy-eight Infants and five Adults; the latter having previously been instructed by my Indian Clerk, who regularly reads Prayers on Sundays, and lives a very sober, exemplary Life. The whole Ceremony was concluded with a Discourse on the Nature and Design of Baptism: and I must acknowledge, I never felt more

<sup>83</sup>*Journal*, Vol. 23, pp. 379-381.

<sup>84</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 381-382.

pleasing Sensations than on this solemn Occasion,—to see those affectionate People (from whom I had been separated more than seven years) assembled in a decent, commodious Church erected principally by themselves, behaving themselves with the greatest seeming Devotion, and a becoming Gravity; and even the Windows crowded with those who could not find Room within the Walls. The Concourse of Indians was unusually great on this Occasion, owing to the Circumstance of the Oneidas, Cayugas and Onondagas<sup>85</sup> being settled in the Vicinity (all these People speak different Dialects of the same Language). Before I left the Village I baptized, at different Times afterwards, twenty-four Children, and married six Couple.

On my Way Home, being determined to visit every Settlement of Loyalists, I remained some Time at Cataraqui, and baptized all the Children that were presented for that Purpose, and buried one. And, this Service performed, I proceeded next to the Bay of Quinté (forty-two Miles distant from Cataraqui), and was kindly received by the Mohawks lately settled there; we found them busied in building Houses and laying the Foundations of their new Village, called Tyonderoga [Tyendenagea]—their School-House was almost finished, and is, ere this Time, ready for the Reception of the Master and Scholars. The Situation of their Settlement is really beautiful; and as there are, at present, as many Loyalists at Cataraqui as will occupy the Coast as far as the Indian Boundaries, there is the greatest Probability that it will shortly become a Place of Consequence.

I must not omit to mention the anxious Desire of those loyal Exiles to have Clergymen sent among them; and they look up to the Society for their Assistance in their present distress.<sup>86</sup>

In this letter the reference to the “commodious Church erected principally by themselves” (*i. e.* the Mohawks) is of peculiar interest for this building was the first Anglican church erected in Canada after the conquest from the French.

Although Stuart’s application to Governor Haldimand for the appointment as chaplain to the garrison at Cataraqui<sup>87</sup> had been approved, he did not remove from Montreal until July of the following year (1785). In the meantime he assisted the Rev. David Clabrand de Lisle, the Protestant clergyman of Montreal.

Meanwhile the Mohawks who had settled at Tyendenagea (so called

<sup>85</sup>These were three other of the Iroquois Tribes of which the Mohawks were the senior.

<sup>86</sup>Quoted in Ernest Hawkins’ *Annals of the Diocese of Toronto*, (1848), pp. 7-9. The original letter is no longer extant, but it appears in slightly different form in the *Journal*, Vol. 23, pp. 409-411.

<sup>87</sup>The application was made in the previous February, vide *Canadian Archives*, Series Q, Vol. 49, p. 343: quoted in H. C. Stuart’s *The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793*, p. 54.

after Brant's Indian name) on the Bay of Quinté had also begun to build a church. About the same time the government built a church near Brantford for the section of the Mohawks who had settled under Brant on the Grand River. This church, which was dedicated to St. Paul, still stands: it is generally known as the "Old Mohawk Church." In 1904 the late King Edward VII gave to it the title of "His Majesty's Chapel of the Mohawks," thereby reviving the original name given to the Mohawk Chapel at Fort Hunter by Queen Anne.<sup>88</sup>

#### REMOVAL TO CATARAQUI (KINGSTON)

A few weeks after his arrival at Cataraqui, Stuart wrote to the Society on 1 October:—

... On his arrival at Cataraqui the Commanding Officer of the Garrison was so kind as to allow him a large room in the Garrison, for the purpose of a church, in which Divine Service is performed every Sunday. The Inhabitants give regular attendance; and Mr. Stuart has sanguine hopes, that in a short time a large congregation will be collected. They seem pleased to have their first Clergyman; and promise when it is in their power, to make him some allowance. At present, however, nothing of this sort is to be looked for. Common-Prayer-Books are much wanted; and he has ventured to give them hopes of a small supply from the Society. He requests, that some common Bibles, Prayer-Books, and small Religious Tracts may be sent as soon as convenience will permit. Wilson's Baptism would, he thinks, be very seasonable.

He has visited his former flock, the Mohawks, now settled at the Bay of Quinté; and performed Divine Service, and baptized some children there. At the same time he took occasion to assure them of the continuance of the Society's care for them; and as a proof of it, informed them of the appointment of Mr. Vincent as their Catechist & Schoolmaster. They expressed great joy at the news; and at the same time shewed him the timber they have prepared for erecting a small Church, which they expect to have compleated early next Spring. Hitherto Mr. Vincent is very diligent; and Mr. Stuart hopes he shall never have reason to repent of his having recommended him.

Mr. Stuart has not yet had an opportunity to communicate the Society's benevolent intentions towards the Mohawks<sup>89</sup> settled at the Grand River above Niagara. That is the only Settlement of the Six Nations where a Missionary could at present be sent. They earnestly wish to have a Minister to reside among them. On their first settling there, they expressly stipulated with General Haldimand that Government

<sup>88</sup>*Sir C. P. Lucas, A History of Canada, 1763-1812, p. 235, footnote.*

<sup>89</sup>*i. e. to send them a Missionary.*

should build them a Church, and furnish them with a Minister and Schoolmaster. They have a Schoolmaster already who is paid by Sir John Johnson.

On his way to the Mohawk Village he caused the Inhabitants of the different Townships to collect their children at convenient places, and he baptized those who were presented to him. And he was pleased to find, in the second Township (sixteen miles distant from Cataraqui) a number of Families of the Church of England, who assemble regularly on Sundays, and read the Liturgy and a Sermon. Mr. Stuart furnished them with proper Books, and has promised to visit them as often as possible. They also are in great want of Prayer-Books.

On his journey from Montreal he stopped at New Osegatchie, a considerable Settlement of Loyalists, to visit a Mr. Bryan, a Clergyman of the Church of England who settled there a twelve-month ago. . . .

Soon after Mr. Stuart's arrival at Cataraqui, finding a School much wanted, he solicited the aid of Government, and offered to take care of the School until a proper person could be found. The Lieut. Governor professed great readiness to promote the undertaking, and promised boards, nails, &c. for the School-house. But as no salary was provided for the Master, the matter rests. Mr. Stuart flattered himself that either the Bounty for Montreal would be divided, or a provision from some other Fund assigned for that purpose; especially as Cataraqui will certainly be the Capital of all the new Settlements, and is very conveniently situated, in a wholesome climate, where, within a very few years, provisions must be exceedingly cheap. However, he is not discouraged at the failure of his first attempt; but shall continue to exert his best endeavours to establish a Seminary for the education of Youth in Cataraqui; being persuaded, that the necessity and utility of such an institution will procure a Fund for its support, from some quarter or other. . . .<sup>90</sup>

Like other "United Empire Loyalists" Stuart received considerable grants of land from the government. His estate was situated partly at Cataraqui and partly at a place called New Johnstown, the latter named in memory of the village on the Mohawk River<sup>91</sup> at which he had so often ministered in the past.<sup>92</sup> Writing to William White on 2 November (1785) he thus described his new home:—

. . . I have 200 acres within half a Mile of the Garrison, a beautiful Situation and tolerable good Land. The Town increases fast; there are already above fifty Houses built in

<sup>90</sup>*Journal*, Vol. 23, pp. 190-5.

<sup>91</sup>*vide pp. 16-17 supra.*

<sup>92</sup>*Doc. Hist. of N. Y., Vol. IV, p. 517.*

it & some of them are very elegant; it is now the Port of Transport, from Canada to Niagara, having a good Harbor to contain Vessels of large Burden—we have now just at the Door a Ship, a Scow, and a Sloop besides a number of small Craft. And, if the Communication lately discovered from this Place, by Water, to Lake Huron & Michilimackinac, proves as safe and short, as we are taught to believe, this will shortly be a Place of considerable Trade & consequently an eligible Situation. I have been fortunate in my locations of Land, having 1400 acres at different Places, in good Situations, & of an excellent Quality, three Farms which I am improving and have sowed this Fall thirty Bushells in them. The Shore is occupied by Loyalists forty Miles above this Town and the lands appropriated forty Miles higher up. The number of Souls to the westward of us is more than 5000 and we gain daily new Recruits from the States.—We are poor, happy People, industrious beyond Example. Our gracious King gives us Land gratis and furnishes Provision and Clothing, farming Utensils &c. until next September; after which, the generality of People will be able to live without his Bounty. So much for our new Settlements. The greatest Inconvenience I feel here is there being no School for my Boys, but we are now applying to the Legislature for Assistance to erect an Academy & have great Reason to expect Success; if I succeed in this I shall die here contented . . . . Notwithstanding all my Philosophy and Christian Resignation to my Fate I must express that even writing to a Friend in that Quarter of the World recalls Ideas to my Mind not the most pleasing. But I must banish them and make a virtue of Necessity. Perhaps I could not live so happily, even in Philadelphia as at Cataraqui. I'll endeavour to persuade myself to it. . . .<sup>93</sup>

#### CONTINUED INTEREST IN THE AMERICAN CHURCH

While Stuart was engaged in making his own permanent settlement at Cataraqui he still maintained a great interest in the Church of the former American colonies. Since the signing of the Peace Treaty between Great Britain and the United States the American Church was faced with extinction for the lack of any resident bishop by whom Holy Orders could be conferred and the succession of the clergy maintained. This serious *impasse* had engaged the earnest attention of William White, who brought out a pamphlet in August, 1782, entitled *The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered*. This document proposed, *inter alia*, that, as a temporary expedient, a convention should be elected with powers to confer ordinations, until such time as an episcopate might be inaugurated—if such could eventually be procured—through the medium of the English hierarchy with the

<sup>93</sup>Doc. Hist. of N. Y., Vol. IV, p. 517.

consent of the English government. White sent a copy of this pamphlet to Stuart who, although impressed with what he described as "a new Field of Thought," was uncertain of the desirability of such a course. "Notwithstanding, [he wrote], I am still clogged with all my old Prejudices in regard to the Divine Right and uninterrupted Succession of Episcopacy, yet I must confess that you have said more and with greater Plausibility than the Subject, at first View, seemed to promise. I admire and reverence that Spirit of Moderation and Candour that breathes through the whole Performance, and at the same Time lament the Period [is] so unfortunate as to require the Exertion of such Talents in such a Cause. I hope the present Complexion of the Times will free you from having Recourse to such an Expedient which I am confident nothing but Necessity can have forced you to adopt."<sup>94</sup>

The subsequent English Act of Parliament of 1786<sup>95</sup> (which authorised the consecration by the English primates and bishops of non-British subjects) provided the American Church with an episcopate when William White and Samuel Provoost were consecrated in Lambeth Palace Chapel on 4 February, 1787.<sup>96</sup>

Meanwhile several of Stuart's friends in the United States had suggested to him that he should return to that country, and Dr. David Griffith—the bishop-elect of Virginia<sup>97</sup>—invited him to settle in that State. But this did not commend itself to Stuart who wrote to White:—" . . . I must here acknowledge the Sense I have of Mr. Griffith's friendly Remembrance of me, altho' I despair of being able to accept of his kind Proposal. The Time has been when the Chance of obtaining a Settlement in that Part of Virginia wou'd have gratified my utmost Ambition. But, at my Time of Life, and with such riveted Prejudices in Favor of a Government totally different from that of the United States, I am resolved not to look back having once put my Hand to the Plow."<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless the correspondence with his former friends affected him very deeply: "I can scarcely refrain, [he wrote], from dropping a Tear to the Memory of my old Friends who are almost universally gone into Banishment and may be considered as dead to their Country and their Friends! I am the only refugee Clergyman in this Province. Beardsley, the Sayres, and, I believe, Dr. Seabury

<sup>94</sup> Letter to White, 17 March 1784, quoted in *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, Vol. IV, p. 515.

<sup>95</sup> 26 George III, c. 84.

<sup>96</sup> Dr. Samuel Seabury had already been consecrated by the Scottish Bishops in November 1784. The third consecration of the English succession took place when Dr. James Madison was consecrated at Lambeth on 19 September, 1790.

<sup>97</sup> Dr. Griffith was never consecrated owing to his inability to obtain the necessary funds for the voyage to England. He died in 1789.

<sup>98</sup> Letter, 17 June 1785, quoted in *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, Vol. IV, p. 516.

are in Nova Scotia,<sup>99</sup> but I have as yet no Correspondence with them, the Distance not being less than 400 Miles . . . But I shall not regret the Disappointment and Chagrin I have hitherto met with, if it pleases God to make me the Instrument of spreading the Knowledge of His Gospel amongst the Heathen and reclaiming only one Sheep of the House of Israel.”<sup>100</sup>

### MINISTRY TO WHITES AND INDIANS

The question of a school for the English children at Cataraqui (to which Stuart had alluded in his letter of 1 October, 1785<sup>101</sup>) soon became an accomplished fact, for after a few months a school-house was built through the paternal oversight of the lieutenant-governor, General Hope, Stuart being appointed as its temporary principal while provision was made from government funds for an assistant master. The school was formally opened on 1 May (1786) with thirty pupils, those of the poorer classes being taught gratuitously.<sup>102</sup> In 1789 the school was said to be in a flourishing condition under the superintendence of a Mr. Donovan, who had been engaged as principal for a term of four years. The school was dependent on the tuition fees and on a small “gratuity” which Stuart himself gave.<sup>103</sup>

During the year 1787 Stuart made several tours through the new English settlements, and at Easter he visited the Mohawks at the Bay of Quinté, where he administered the Sacrament “to six Indians, that being the first Occasion of that Nature since their Settlement there.” He found that their church had not yet been built, but that the materials were already prepared for its erection. Lewis Vincent, the Indian school-master, had been “diligent in his Duty,” and with his assistance Stuart was “preparing a Translation of St. Matthew’s Gospel” in the Mohawk language.<sup>104</sup>

A few weeks later Stuart paid a visit to New York and Philadelphia, where he made enquiries on behalf of the S. P. G. as to the Society’s glebe at Fort Hunter. The result of his enquiries showed

<sup>99</sup>*The Rev. John Beardsley, M. A., S. P. G. missionary in New England and N. Y., 1761-1776. Refugee N. Y. 1776. Transferred to Nova Scotia and later to New Brunswick. The Rev. John Sayre, S. P. G. missionary in N. Y. and New England, 1768-1779. Imprisoned but escaped to N. Y. Transferred to New Brunswick 1783; died 1784. The Rev. James Sayre (brother of the above), minister at Brooklyn, N. Y. Refugee; transferred to New Brunswick 1783. Bishop Seabury stopped in Nova Scotia on his return to America (1785) from Scotland and England.*

<sup>100</sup>*Letter to (White?), quoted in Doc. Hist. of N. Y., Vol. IV, p. 516.*

<sup>101</sup>*vide page 47, supra.*

<sup>102</sup>*Letter, Stuart to S. P. G., 26 Sept. 1786; Journal, Vol. 24, p. 364.*

<sup>103</sup>*Young, The Parish Register of Kingston, 1785-1811, p. 16.*

<sup>104</sup>*Letter, Stuart to S. P. G., 20 June 1787, Journal, Vol. 25, pp. 24-25.*

that the glebe had not—as had been at first reported—been forfeited to the State.<sup>105</sup>

In the following May (1788) Stuart made a long visit to the Mohawks on the Grand River, and on his return to Cataraqui (which was now first becoming known by its present name of Kingston<sup>106</sup>) he thus described his tour:—

. . . He embarked with Captain Brant & 4 other Mohawks on the 27th. of last May, and reached the head of Lake Ontario in 9 days (distant from Kingston about 200 miles) from whence they proceeded on horseback about 25 miles to the Village called New Oswego, where he was well received. That on the Sunday following he preached and administered the Sacrament to 16 (four of them new Communicants), baptized 65 persons, 7 of whom were adults, & married 3 couple. That the Mohawk Village is pleasantly situated on a small but deep River—the Church about 60 feet in length & 45 in breadth,—built with squared logs and boarded on the outside and painted—with a handsome steeple & bell, a pulpit, reading-desk & communion-table, with convenient pews. That the Church furniture lately given by Government not having arrived (though at the date of Mr. Stuart's letter at Niagara) he took with him the plate & furniture which formerly belonged to their Church at Fort Hunter—a small organ was employed in the Service. That he was accompanied on his return as far as Niagara (about 80 miles) by Captain Brant and 15 other Mohawks who earnestly requested that he would visit them as often as possible, which he promised to do . . . That the number of the Mohawks at the Grand River or Oswego is as follows: Men 120. Women 154. Children 125. Total 399.<sup>107</sup>

In addition to this letter to the S. P. G., Stuart sent a more detailed description of his tour, and of other incidents, to William White:—

“ . . . I embarked in a Battoe with six Indians commanded by Capt. Brant and coasted along the north Side of Lake Ontario about 200 Miles; and from the Head of the Lake we went 25 Miles, by Land, to the Mohawk Village on the Grand River which empties into Lake Erie. These People were my former Charge, & the Society still stiles me their Missionary. I found them conveniently situated on a beautiful River, where the Soil is equal in Fertility to any I ever saw.—Their Village contains about 700 Souls and consists of a great Number of good Houses with an elegant Church in the Centre: it has a handsome Steeple & Bell, and is well finished within.

<sup>105</sup>Letter, Stuart to S. P. G., 14 August 1787, *Journal*, Vol. 25, pp. 26-27.

<sup>106</sup>vide the heading of Stuart's next letter to the Society dated 12 July 1788, *Journal*, Vol. 25, p. 120.

<sup>107</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 121-123.

You will be surprized when I tell you, they have a complete Service of Church Plate, crimson Furniture for the Pulpit &c with the Creed, Commandments, the Society's & King's Coat of Arms, all very large & elegant, and that the Psalmody was accompanied by an Organ. This Place is 90 Miles from Niagara and was uninhabited four years ago. I returned by the route of Niagara and visited that Settlement (they have as yet no Clergyman) and preached to a very large Audience. The Increase of Population there is immense. And indeed, I was so pleased with that Country, where I found many of my old Parishioners, that I was strongly tempted to remove my Family to it. You may suppose it cost me a Struggle to refuse the unanimous & pressing Invitations of a large Settlement, with the additional Argument of a Subscription & other Emoluments amounting to near £300 New York Currency per annum more than I have here. But, on mature Reflection, I have determined to remain here. You will suppose me to be very rich or very disinterested: But I assure you neither is the Case. I have a comfortable House & good Farm here, and an excellent School for my Children in a very healthy Climate, and all these I could not have expected had I removed to Niagara. But that you may be convinced that I am determined to die rich, I have also declined an honorable & lucrative Appointment. Our new Settlements have been lately divided into four Districts (of which, this Place is the Capital of one, called New Mecklenburg) and Courts of Justice are immediately to be opened. I had a Commission sent me as first Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. But, for Reasons which will readily occur to you, I returned it to Lord Dorchester<sup>108</sup> who left this Place a few Days ago. The Mention of these Circumstances you, perhaps, will call Vanity. But as any Anecdotes concerning you wou'd give me much Pleasure to hear, so I flatter myself that my Friends will be glad to find that even this Wilderness has its Politics, its Competitions, which, altho' on a small Scale, serve to awaken Emulation & prevent Life from stagnating."<sup>109</sup>

The offer of a judgeship is a signal proof—if any were needed—of the esteem with which Lord Dorchester and the government regarded Stuart. It may be something more than a coincidence that in after years two of his sons, Sir James Stuart, Bart., and Andrew Stuart, became respectively Chief Justice and Solicitor-General of Lower Canada.

Early in the following year (1789) Stuart again visited the Mohawks at the Bay of Quinté. He found that they had now finished the building of their church "without any assistance from the Public." The church was "about 25 feet square, of framed Timbers and boarded,"

<sup>108</sup>*i. e. Sir Guy Carleton, K. B., Lord Dorchester, the Governor of Canada.*

<sup>109</sup>Quoted in *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, Vol. IV, p. 518.

but the inside was not yet finished. The catechist, Lewis Vincent, had left, but one of themselves was acting as school-master until another catechist could be appointed.<sup>110</sup>

#### COMMISSARY FOR UPPER CANADA

Some months later Stuart made a 400 mile journey in company with the Rev. John Langhorne, S. P. G. missionary at Fredericksburg, to attend the visitation of the Canadian clergy held in August by Dr. Charles Inglis, first bishop of Nova Scotia.<sup>111</sup> At this important meeting Stuart preached before the bishop and his fellow-clergy, and on his return to Kingston Bishop Inglis appointed him as his commissary for Upper Canada. In a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. John Moore), the bishop wrote:—

“The Western Settlements, which will hereafter require the Society’s [*i. e.* the S. P. G.] attention, are at so prodigious a distance from Quebec, that a Commissary at Quebec could be of little service there. I therefore appointed Mr. Stuart my Commissary there, who is a very sensible man, of respectable character and exemplary morals. Lord Dorchester was greatly pleased with this appointment.”<sup>112</sup>

It was about this time that Stuart and his congregation at Kingston turned their attention to building a church, and in December a petition was sent to Lord Dorchester for a grant of the King’s Mills near the township.<sup>113</sup> The request was, however, not granted, although the governor’s council did not send their answer until March, 1791. Nevertheless, the people were determined to proceed with their design, and having opened a subscription list the vestry resolved on 25 October that the work of building a church should be set on foot.<sup>114</sup> The building was to be 40x32 feet and 12 feet high: its cost was to be £108, of which £80 had been collected.<sup>115</sup> In October, 1792, Stuart wrote to the S. P. G. that the church was “glazed and plastered,”<sup>116</sup> and in the following March he reported that “the new Church is a commodious & decent Edifice, it was plastered last Fall, and a temporary Pulpit &

<sup>110</sup>Letter, Stuart to S. P. G., 7 October 1789; *Journal*, Vol. 25, p. 223.

<sup>111</sup>The Rt. Rev. Charles Inglis (1734-1816), formerly S. P. G. missionary in Delaware and later rector of Trinity Church, N. Y., which he resigned in 1782 at the close of the Revolutionary War. He was consecrated the first colonial bishop of the English Church on 12 August 1787, his jurisdiction extending (until 1793) over the whole of British North America.

<sup>112</sup>Young, *The Parish Register of Kingston, 1785-1811*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>113</sup>Letter, Stuart to S. P. G., 5 January, 1790, *Journal*, Vol. 25, p. 279.

<sup>114</sup>Young, *The Parish Register of Kingston, 1785-1811*, p. 25.

<sup>115</sup>Letter, Stuart to S. P. G., 23 Feby. 1792, *Journal*, Vol. 26, p. 23.

<sup>116</sup>Letter, Stuart to S. P. G., 12 October 1792, *ibid.*, p. 78.

Reading-Desk erected in it, the whole expense of which was £172 currency: but £28 remains to be raised by Subscription."<sup>117</sup> It was, however, more than a year later before Stuart informed the S. P. G. that "the Church is now finished with a Pulpit, Desk, Communion-table, Pews, Cupola & Bell; but the Congregation having increased much it appears to be too small, and therefore they design to enlarge it by building a Chancel at the end of it, as soon as material & workmen can be procured."<sup>118</sup> In August of this year (1794) Dr. Jacob Mountain, first bishop of Quebec,<sup>119</sup> held a visitation at Kingston and administered the rite of confirmation in the new church.<sup>120</sup>

Meanwhile Stuart's various duties had been increased by his appointment of chaplain to the Upper House of Assembly at a meeting of the first session of the colonial legislature in 1792.<sup>121</sup> This appointment necessitated his attendance at Niagara, where the House was then holding its sittings. During Stuart's stay at Niagara on this occasion "Captn. Brant with the chief men and warriors of the Mohawks went to Detroit to assist at a General Council of the Western Nations, which circumstance rendered his [Stuart's] intended visit to their Village unseasonable."<sup>122</sup> This conference of the Six Nations resulted in the unhappy war between the United States and the Indian tribes over the vexed question of encroachments by the Americans on the Indian territory beyond the Ohio river.

In July of this year (1792) General John Simcoe was installed as lieutenant-governor in the new church at Kingston.<sup>123</sup> The new governor was a firm friend of the Church, and Stuart wrote to the S. P. G. that he "seems determined to put the Church of England on as respectable a footing as possible in this Province, from whose Countenance much may be expected."<sup>124</sup>

One of Stuart's first duties as the bishop's commissary was to inspect the letters of ordination of a Mr. Bryan of Cornwall, who turned out to be a "self-ordained" clergyman. Soon after this a Mr. Bouteiller established himself at Niagara, and upon enquiry into his credentials he also proved to be an imposter. Stuart very properly inhibited him but Bouteiller continued to preach and hold services until some months later when the Rev. Robert Addison was appointed by the Society to

<sup>117</sup>Letter, Stuart to S. P. G., 19 March 1793, *Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>118</sup>Letter, Stuart to S. P. G., (undated, but probably September 1794), *Ibid.*, pp. 299-300.

<sup>119</sup>The Rt. Rev. Jacob Mountain, D. D., (1749-1825), consecrated on 7 July 1793.

<sup>120</sup>Letter, Stuart to S. P. G., (undated), *Journal*, Vol. 26, p. 300.

<sup>121</sup>Doc. Hist. of N. Y., Vol. IV, p. 519.

<sup>122</sup>Letters, Stuart to S. P. G., 12 October 1792, *Journal*, Vol. 26, p. 77.

<sup>123</sup>Young, *The Parish Register of Kingston, 1785-1811*, p. 20.

<sup>124</sup>Letter, 12 October 1792, *Journal*, Vol. 26, p. 77.

that cure.<sup>125</sup> With the Rev. John Langhorne (S. P. G. missionary at Fredericksburg) Stuart encountered some difficulties owing to this gentleman's uncompromising attitude to the Presbyterians and Dissenters. A native of Wales<sup>126</sup> and educated at St. Bees College, Cumberland, Langhorne had been appointed by the Society in 1787 on the recommendation of Dr. Porteus, Bishop of Chester.<sup>127</sup> His unfortunate aptitude for improvising songs on the Methodists, and his controversy with the local Presbyterian minister caused Stuart considerable uneasiness. Nevertheless, in spite of his eccentricities, Langhorne was a zealous and devoted missionary who laboured for a quarter of a century in an itinerant mission of a huge extent.<sup>128</sup>

A transcription of Stuart's letters during the last twenty years of his life would occupy very considerable space and would extend greatly beyond the confines of this brief biography. Within a year or two after he had established himself at Kingston his labours began to assume a more ordered sequence of recurring visits to the English and Mohawk settlements whenever he could space the time from his many duties in the township and its immediate neighbourhood.

As time went on Stuart found that the Mohawks were becoming "diminished in number, impoverished by idleness & drunkenness, and rapidly losing all pretensions to respectability of character, either religious or political,"<sup>129</sup> but after a further visit in the following year he was able to give a more encouraging account of them, "both at the Bay of Quenti and at the Grand River."

. . . That General Prescott,<sup>130</sup> at the request of the Mohawks at the Bay, has rebuilt and enlarged their Church, 40 feet long by 25, completely weather-boarded & shingled, with an handsome steeple & bell. The King's Arms, the Creed & Commandments formerly sent over by Government, are placed over the Communion Table. There is a decent pulpit, reading-desk, Communion Table, & 12 pews. A stove & pipes have been purchased with the remainder of the £50 some time since given for the repairs of the church; so that when the outside is painted, nothing more will be wanting, as they have preserved the Communion Plate & Furniture given by Queen Anne to their Chapel at Fort Hunter. He found the scholars to be very few, not to be imputed to inattention in the Master (for

<sup>125</sup>Letters, *Stuart to S. P. G., Journal, Vol. 26, passim.*

<sup>126</sup>Mr. Langhorne no doubt belonged to the well known Welsh family of Laugharne which has been settled in Pembrokeshire since the 13th. century. The alteration in the spelling of the name occurs in some instances.

<sup>127</sup>Hawkins, *Annals of the Diocese of Toronto*, p. 27.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>129</sup>Letter, *Stuart to S. P. G., 3 August 1797, Journal, Vol. 27, p. 235.*

<sup>130</sup>Robert Prescott (1725-1816) succeeded Lord Dorchester as governor of Canada in 1796.

they speak of him in terms of approbation) but to the scattered situation of the houses 6 miles along the banks of the Bay, and to their indolent habits. However, after compromising some small differences, he appointed Church wardens, and made such regulations as, he trusts, will prove of future benefit. Divine Service is regularly performed there on Sundays by a son of their principal Chief, who also understands English, & who values himself much on being a god-son of the Bishop of Nova Scotia.<sup>181</sup> They promised to be more punctual in sending their children to School. The number now at the Bay amounts to only 135. Many went away last Fall to the Grand River.

It would be more pleasing to him to be enabled to transmit more satisfactory accounts to the Society of the religious improvements of these antient Subjects of their Charity, but he always has on this subject a scrupulous regard to Truth. These people indeed labour under great disadvantages, being placed among White People professing Christianity, but from whose examples they cannot receive any advantage. They have no resident teacher, no person of established authority among themselves, no written Laws to refer to; & the propensity almost universal among Indians to strong liquors—these, with other powerful causes, operate too strongly against the feeble efforts that have hitherto been made towards a thorough Civilization of the Aborigines of that country. And he may add for an undoubted fact, that wherever a nation, or tribe, of Indians has been placed in the neighbourhood of, or entirely surrounded by, White People, they have rapidly diminished, or become extinct, in a few years. At the same time he must acknowledge that the Mohawks are docile, & tolerably well acquainted with the essential Doctrines of Christianity, & 'tis his opinion that if any young man could be found possessed of such a portion of primitive zeal as would induce him to undertake the instruction of these people merely from religious motives, much fruit might be expected from his labours. And even, if his success with the Indians should fall short, he might be of use to the White people who are now literally sheep without a shepherd. For it frequently happens that when he does duty at the Mohawk village, the Church cannot contain those who attend.

But the Mohawks settled at the Grand River, 200 miles distant, are much more numerous than those of the Bay. They are under the more immediate eye and protection of Government, & are, in a great measure, directed by Captain Brant, a sensible & enterprising Chief. And their local situation procures them a constant influx of inhabitants from the other branches of the [Iroquois] Confederacy, or Five Nations. Besides, a large tract of valuable land assigned to them at the late peace, has been so judiciously managed by Captain Brant as

<sup>181</sup>*This was a son of the chief "Little Abraham" at whose baptism Bishop Inglis (then curate of Trinity Church, N. Y.) had stood sponsor when he visited the Mohawks at Canajohare in 1770. c. f. Letter, Inglis to the Rev. Samuel Johnson, D. D. (New York Hist. Soc.'s collection.)*

to induce many from other tribes to incorporate with them. They have an handsome Church in which Divine Service is regularly performed by one of the Mohawks, & Mr. Addison visits them four times a year. Their numbers amount to 522 souls. Captain Brant has made pressing solicitation to the Bishop for a resident Clergyman, & his Lordship is well disposed to comply with it. But the difficulties in selecting a proper person for that important charge have been hitherto insurmountable. The political principles of one qualified for it seem to be at least second to those of a religious nature. Therefore, if even the present obstacle respecting American Episcopal Ordinations were removed, yet the risque would be very considerable in a political view from the choice of an American. The difficulties in procuring one from England he need not mention. He considers however that their worthy Bishop & the Gentlemen administering the Government of the Province, are the proper judges of the matter, & will embrace the first opportunity of doing it.

His own Mission has undergone but little alteration. His Congregation is numerous & respectable. The Church is completely finished & painted within & without. Nothing appears but peace & harmony. And notwithstanding the ground the Methodists have gained in that country, he is happy in saying that they have not made a single convert in the Town of Kingston. As long as his health will permit he means to continue his occasional visits to the distant Settlements until more Clergymen can be procured. Having lately returned from the Bay, he expects to see Oswegatchie & Cornwall in the course of the Winter. He says that old age is advancing, but, he thanks God, his constitution is firm & good. And if he can be instrumental in sowing the seed, & preparing an uncultivated soil for more skilful labourers in the vineyard, he shall think his time & labours well bestowed.<sup>132</sup>

As time went on Stuart enlarged his property round his rectory by receiving further grants of land from the government to which he was entitled as a "United Empire Loyalist." His sons, George Okill, James and Andrew, being professional men, received 1,200 acres each, and his merchant sons, John and Charles (afterwards sheriffs), each obtained 600 acres "as became young men of their condition." Similarly, his daughters each received 200 acres on their marriage or on attaining their majority. The Stuart property came to be known as "Stuartville," and the streets called Arch, Deacon, George, Okill, and Stuart, took their names from his family. Stuart's house stood near the site of the Murney Tower.<sup>133</sup> His eldest son, Archdeacon George Okill Stuart, lived in the house after Stuart's death: in course of time it be-

<sup>132</sup>Letter, Stuart to S. P. G., 11 October 1798, *Journal*, Vol. 27, pp. 379-383.

<sup>133</sup>Young, *The Parish Register of Kingston, 1785-1811*, pp. 22-23.

came the centre of Queen's University and it is still the residence of the Principal.<sup>134</sup>

In 1799 the University of Pennsylvania conferred upon Stuart the degree of Doctor of Divinity. This complimentary gesture from his *Alma Mater* to one who had consistently refused to return to the country of his birth because of his loyalty to the English government, was rightly felt by Stuart to be of the highest value.<sup>135</sup> About this time Stuart was appointed chaplain to the garrison at Kingston. The emoluments of this post secured him a reasonable maintenance, and with the property which he had acquired he now felt that his situation was peculiarly blest. "How mysterious," he wrote, "are the Ways of Providence. How short sighted are we! Some Years ago I thought it a great hardship to be banished into this Wilderness and wou'd have imagined myself completely happy cou'd I have exchanged it for a Place in the delightful City of Philadelphia. Now the best Wish we can form for our dearest Friends is to have them removed to us."<sup>136</sup> The ordination of his eldest son, George Okill Stuart, in June, 1800, by the bishop of Quebec must have given Stuart the keenest satisfaction.<sup>137</sup>

Stuart's influence with the Mohawks continued to exercise a benevolent control among the tribesmen who were still prone to outbursts of lawlessness. In a letter of 28 October, 1802, he mentions "an unfortunate misunderstanding between two of the principal Mohawk Chiefs, which divided the village into two parties, between whom a fray ensued, in which two men were killed and several badly wounded. While things were in this state he (Stuart) thought it prudent to discontinue his visits. At length they very humbly requested his interposition. Accordingly he went, convened them in the church, & was happy to find them well inclined to second his views for the restoration of peace and good neighbourhood among them." In the same letter he reported that owing to the great increase in his Kingston congregation "at the Easter Meeting, the Church being too small, they agreed to add about 20 feet to the building & to erect a gallery. This has been done, and the whole will be completely finished, plastered & painted in the course of a month. They shall then have 18 additional pews, and a gallery containing 100 persons."<sup>138</sup>

<sup>134</sup> T. R. Glover & D. D. Calvin, *A Corner of Empire: The Old Ontario Strand*, p. 28.

<sup>135</sup> Letter, Stuart (to Bp. White ?), 21 October 1799, quoted in *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, Vol. IV, p. 519.

<sup>136</sup> Letter, Stuart (to Bp. White ?), 26 November 1798, *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> The Rev. G. O. Stuart had graduated at Harvard, Cambridge, U. S. A. He received the cure of York (now Toronto.), c. f. Letter, Stuart to S. P. G., 12 October 1800, *Journal*, Vol. 28, p. 128.

<sup>138</sup> *Journal*, Vol. 28, pp. 335-336.

On 24 November, 1807, Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), for many years the universally acknowledged Paramount Chief of the Mohawks and Stuart's life-long friend, died at his home on Lake Ontario and was buried in the precincts of the church which he and his followers had built in the Mohawk village on the Grand River. His youngest son, John (Ahyouwaeghs), succeeded him in the chieftainship, and in 1827 he was made a captain in the British army and superintendent of the Six Nations of the Iroquois. His untimely death from cholera in 1832 deprived the Mohawks of an enlightened and courageous leader.<sup>139</sup> Meanwhile the Mohawks were never absent from Stuart's thoughts, and in his last letter to the S. P. G. (dated 2 January, 1811) he reported that he had appointed "a discreet young Mohawk" as the new schoolmaster at the Bay of Quinté.<sup>140</sup> "Dr. Stuart lived among the Mohawks," said one who knew him, "as a father among his children, and he was loved the more the better he was known; for his life was a living example of what he preached."<sup>141</sup>

John Stuart entered into rest on 15 August, 1811, in the seventy-first year of his age and the forty-first of his ministry, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, Kingston. Here in course of time he was surrounded by his wife and many of his descendants. The family tomb is kept in excellent condition by John Stuart's great-great-grandson, Sir Campbell Stuart, G. C. M. G., K. B. E. The entry in the register of Stuart's burial is in the handwriting of the Rev. John Langhorne and reads:—

"The Rev. Dr. John Stuart, the first Church of England Minister of Kingston, was interred August 17th, 1811."<sup>142</sup>

His wife, Mrs. Jane Stuart, survived him for nearly ten years and died at Kingston on 10 June, 1821.<sup>143</sup>

#### ESTIMATES OF HIS PERSON AND CHARACTER

In personal appearance Stuart resembled his three brothers, James, Andrew and Charles, who were men of tall stature and of great physical strength,<sup>144</sup> and to this circumstance Stuart was known among his

<sup>139</sup>*J. W. Lydekker, The Faithful Mohawks, pp. 188-189.*

<sup>140</sup>*Journal, Vol. 30, p. 187.*

<sup>141</sup>*Hawkins, Annals of the Diocese of Toronto, p. 16.*

<sup>142</sup>*Young, The Parish Register of Kingston, 1785-1811, p. 163.*

<sup>143</sup>*Ibid., p. 24.*

<sup>144</sup>*James died young. Andrew and Charles lived to an advanced age in Pennsylvania: they had been staunch supporters of the "Patriot" cause during the Revolutionary War. Letter, the Rev. G. O. Stuart, quoted in Doc. Hist. of N. Y., Vol. IV, p. 507.*

friends as "The *little* gentleman."<sup>145</sup> The following personal anecdotes of Stuart give some interesting sidelights into his disposition and character. The Rev. J. H. B. Mountain (a son of the first bishop of Quebec) wrote:—

"I have nothing more than mere boyish reminiscences of the Canadian Clergy. Their peculiarities of manner and dress etc. amused my idle mind, which, at that age, took little note of essential qualities. Dr. Stuart was a man of a higher stamp than the rest, but even of him my recollections are equally childish. I remember him as a very fine elderly man, of lofty stature and powerful frame; very kind to me, and to every body, though rather caustic and dry in manner; of a somewhat stately bearing as conceiving himself the lineal descendant of the legitimate Monarch, but merging that pride in the humility of his ministerial function . . . He was diligent and charitable, and sought health and recreation in cultivating his farm and garden; and on fine summer evenings he loved to sit on the (lake) shore and play upon his flute, till some of his parishioners, brought up in the Puritan school, objected to a Minister's "whistling tube" as a worldly vanity, and he laid it aside forever—not without indulging in a smile at their absurdity—but influenced by 1 Cor. viii. 13.

"He was subject to occasional attacks of gout, and when a fit came on he walked into the lake, and stood there some time to soak his shoes and stockings, and then walked at a striding pace till they became quite dry. This he found an immediate, complete, and safe cure. He had a strong, hardy, active frame of body, travelled much on foot and on horseback, and could bear severe exercise. I recollect five sons and two daughters, most of whom, I believe, are now dead. This is indeed a meagre account of a man of his dignity and acquirements, and exemplary character, in whose house I sojourned when a mere boy, and when his sons and daughters were to me more attractive companions than their venerable father."<sup>146</sup>

To these reminiscences may be added a letter written in 1847 by Chief Justice Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bart: (whom Stuart called his "sixth son") :—

"I do, indeed, very well recollect the excellent Dr. Stuart, though I was too young fully to appreciate his worth. You know, I dare say, how I came to be for nearly three years an intimate of his family. He had been an intimate friend of my father's during the five or six years that our family lived in Kingston, between 1791 and 1798. My father became indebted

<sup>145</sup>James died young. Andrew and Charles lived to an advanced age in Pennsylvania: they had been staunch supporters of the "Patriot" cause during the Revolutionary War. Letter, the Rev. G. O. Stuart, quoted in *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, Vol. IV, p. 520.

<sup>146</sup>Quoted in *Hawkins' Annals of the Diocese of Toronto*, pp. 17-18.

to him in the course of some transactions about land, and had given him a bond for the amount.

"Mr. Stuart (for he was not then D. D.) was Chaplain to the Legislative Council, which occasioned him to make an annual visit to York, and though I was but a child, I well remember the circumstances of his coming to our house near York, to which we had removed but a few months before from Kingston, the first time after my poor father's early and sudden death; and his giving up to my mother, or rather destroying in her presence, the obligation of my father, which he held, declaring that he would never consent to receive any part of the amount under the sadly-altered circumstances in which she was placed. When the Session closed, and he was about to return to Kingston, he strongly urged my mother to allow him to take me with him, thinking that more could be done for me at that important period of my life than was likely to be done for me if I remained at home. Mr. Strachan, our present Bishop,<sup>147</sup> had then just opened his excellent school at Kingston; and I recollect Mr. Stuart's account of the new school, and his earnest representations to my mother of the great advantage it would be to me to be sent there.

"I was sent with him, and lived about three years in his family, treated in all respects as tenderly and kindly as if I had been his son. These are noble traits in his character, when it is considered that it had been an arduous struggle for him, for many years, to bring up and educate his own large family of eight children upon the income of a Missionary; and that he had not yet got through the difficulties which these unavoidable expenses had thrown upon him.

"I perfectly well remember Dr. Stuart's person and manner, and his peculiar style of conversation; and I retain impressions of his disposition and character which, I dare say, are tolerably correct . . . Dr. Stuart had received in his youth a good classical education, and retained through life a relish for the beauties of Greek and Latin authors. He had been, I think, extremely well grounded in both languages, took pleasure in mastering difficult passages, and was fond of tracing words in our language to their Greek and Latin roots, and of puzzling his young acquaintances by his perfect recollection and critical application of all sorts of crabbed rules. He had formed an acquaintance, either before or during the American Revolution, with Bishops Inglis and White, and afterwards, of course, with his own Diocesan, Dr. Mountain, with all of whom he maintained a correspondence, and of whom I used to hear him speak with great respect and admiration. There was something in Dr. Stuart's appearance that could not fail to make a most favourable impression. He was about six feet two inches in height—not corpulent, and not thin,—but with fine

<sup>147</sup>The Rt. Rev. John Strachan (1778-1867), first bishop of Toronto (1839) had been a former pupil of Stuart.

masculine features, expanded chest, erect figure ; straight, well-formed limbs, and a free, manly carriage, improved by a fondness in his youth for athletic exercises, particularly fencing. From my recollection of him at this moment, I should say that I have seen no one who came so fully up to the idea one is led to form of a fine old Roman—a man capable of enduring and defying anything in a good cause; incapable—absolutely incapable of stooping to anything in the least degree mean or unworthy.

“Circumstances had imposed upon him the necessity of frugality, but he submitted to the necessity cheerfully and with a good grace; and there was, indeed, in him that natural simplicity of character and contempt of ostentation, that it cost him apparently no painful efforts. Any one who can speak from memory of the early days of Kingston, will tell you how much and how sincerely Dr. Stuart was loved and respected by every one; how cheerful and instructive his society was; and how amusing, from the infinity of anecdotes which his observation and his excellent memory had enabled him to collect and keep always in readiness to illustrate his lessons, and impress more strongly his good advice, and the cautions which were often addressed to his young friends.

“He was especially intolerant of anything like levity of deportment in Church; indeed, the Church was so small, and the Doctor’s apostolic figure and appearance so strikingly conspicuous in it, that few would venture to run the risk of the rebuke he would be sure to give if the occasion called for it. I remember when some young officers in the military forces, who had not been long in the parish, were venturing to whisper rather too audibly, and apparently forgetting the purpose for which they had come there, how the worthy pastor most effectually brought them to a sense of their transgression by simply suspending his reading, which of course, after the pause had lasted a few seconds, drew the eyes of all towards him, and of the unlucky young officers with the rest, when they found him looking sternly into their pew, with his finger directed towards them in a manner rather painfully significant. I do not believe they repeated their offence while at Kingston.

“Dr. Stuart was exceedingly kind to young people, fond of their society—taking an interest in their plans and prospects, and anxious to repress, in a good-natured way, any little follies which he feared might be injurious to them. No Clergyman, I think, could be more universally respected and beloved than he was by his people, and between him and the members of other religious communities there was always a kindly feeling. He could not recede from what he thought to be right, under the pressure of *any* circumstances; but he abhorred contention, and there was, indeed, too much natural dignity of character about him to permit him to involve himself in anything of the kind. I think I have known no one whom it would be more

difficult to coerce or to mislead. He was remarkable for his knowledge of the human character, and seldom, I fancy, mistaken in his estimate of those who came in his way. You may doubt whether this is not a partial account—but it is not.

... “Upper Canada, and Kingston along with it, have wonderfully improved since Dr. Stuart built his unpretending-looking parsonage on Stuart’s Point, which stood till within a few months past, a memorial of the simplicity of those early times; but it is not likely that Kingston will have to boast, in many generations, a character more interesting and venerable than that of its first pastor.”<sup>148</sup>

<sup>148</sup>Quoted in Hawkins’ *Annals of the Diocese of Toronto*, pp. 20-26.

## HISTORIC PARISHES

### I.

#### JAMES CITY PARISH IN VIRGINIA

*By G. MacLaren Brydon*

THE Parish of James City in Virginia, (now in the diocese of Southern Virginia), was the first parish established in the first permanent English colony in America, and today, although in an unorganized state, is the oldest parish of the American Church. The first rector was a man whose name has lived through more than three centuries as a writer of stories of travel and adventure in far countries; who in his own day was responsible perhaps more than anyone else for the widespread interest throughout the England of the Jacobean period in overseas colonization and maritime exploration and adventure.

That this first rector of Jamestown never visited his parish is beyond the mark; he exercised his authority as rector by the appointment of a vicar to serve as the actual curate of the parish. The world has long known that vicar, because he wrote his name in large letters across the face of the story of the first days of the colony at Jamestown by the very character of his work: but the name of the rector has remained hidden in the writings of Captain John Smith. The Reverend Richard Hakluyt, writer, geographer, professor of geography at Oxford University and prebend of Westminster Cathedral was the rector; the Reverend Robert Hunt, who had been vicar of Reculver, Kent, was his vicar.

Captain John Smith, writing of conditions in Virginia after the colony had become fairly well established, stated:

“They have builded many pretty villages, faire houses, and Chapels, which are grown good Benefices of 120 pounds a yeare, besides their own Mundall industry. But James Towne was 500 pounds a yeare as they say, appointed by the Counsell here, allowed by the Councell there, and confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, his Grace Primate and Metropolitan of England, an. 1605, to Master Richard Hacluit, Prebend of Westminster; who by his authority sent Master Robert Hunt an honest religious and courageous Divine: dur-

ing whose life our factions were oft qualified our wants and greatest extremities so comforted that they seemed easie in comparison of what we endured after his memorable death."<sup>1</sup>

### THE PARISH IN VIRGINIA

Throughout the first two generations and more of its colonial life, Virginia, as the only colony in which at that time the Anglican Church was established, was striving to solve the problems of ecclesiastical life and administration under terrific handicaps of frontier conditions in a new land: and in endeavoring to solve these problems was developing methods which were adopted later in other colonies into which the Church came. The colony received the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Anglican Church wholeheartedly, and made that its Established Church; but no bishop was ever sent to establish a diocese, to confirm and ordain; and there were no proper administrative or executive officers to enforce ecclesiastical law and spiritual discipline, or serve as leaders of a growing life. Nor was Virginia either then, or ever during the colonial period, within or a part of any diocese in England.<sup>2</sup> Consequently the laity of the Church in Virginia were compelled to form the best ecclesiastical government they could out of the material they had in order to conserve the forms of the Church. Upon the temporal side the General Assembly, the legislature of the colony, acted to establish parishes and to decide disputes and questions regarding temporalities coming to it from the parishes. It established new parishes and developed the vestry as the body governing the temporalities of the parish; and it directed that the Church should be governed by the Constitutions and Canons of the Church of England. As regards spiritual authority however, the Church in Virginia consisted of simply a group of parishes without any colonial authority above them in spiritual matters.

From this condition grew the one distinctly American institution, the Parish Vestry. Starting as a committee of four "religious and better disposed" men as ordered in the laws of Sir Thomas Dale in 1610, it developed until it became by legal enactment the parish vestry of twelve men elected by the landholders of the parish as their one permanent governing body. The Vestry fought for and won the right to elect their own ministers; and, as ministers came and went accord-

<sup>1</sup>*Captain John Smith's Works. English Scholars' Edition, Vol. II, p. 958, "Hacluli" as Capt. Smith spells it is, of course, Hakluyt.*

<sup>2</sup>*William Stevens Perry. Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Virginia, 1650-1776. See the two letters of President William Nelson, pp. 532-34. See also HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, Vol. X, p. 87. Ingram, "Early English Colonies in America," pp. 60-64.*

ing to their own desire or the conditions that arose, the vestry continued as the one abiding and continuing institution.

The "Lawes, Divine, Politique and Martiall" promulgated by Sir Thomas Dale in Virginia in 1610 directed that<sup>3</sup>

"every minister, where he is resident, within the same Fort or Fortress, Townes, or Towne, shall chuse unto him, foure of the most religious and better disposed; as well to informe of the abuses and neglects of the people in their duties, and service to God, as also due reparation and keeping of the church handsome and fitted with all reverent observances thereunto belonging."

Two entirely distinct classes of duties appear at once in this law; and both imposed upon the vestries: on the one hand the temporal care of the parish; on the other a spiritual responsibility bearing upon human relationships and frailties. This spiritual responsibility was later enacted into the laws requiring the vestry to keep in touch with the life of the parish sufficiently to present to the grand jury all offenders against the moral law, and to make provision for all dependent poor, to provide for the sick, and to take charge of orphans, and bind them out to masters who would feed, clothe and teach them.<sup>4</sup>

The fact that there was no higher ecclesiastical or spiritual authority in the colony than the parish would seem to be the reason why the non-ecclesiastical duty of making presentments was laid upon the vestry. Because, if this had not been done, the only person in the whole colony, outside the officials of the county courts themselves, who would have sufficient authority to raise his voice against moral offences, would have been the incumbent minister of the parish, and he standing alone with no bishop or higher spiritual authority back of him to uphold him, or to hear an appeal against him in case of arbitrary action. This duty, placed upon a body of which the minister was ex-officio the presiding officer, was at the same time a spur to him to incite him to insistence upon moral standards, and also a check upon any possibly arbitrary action upon his part.

The situation was abnormal at best; and for this very reason it was all the more essential that the utmost care should be taken in the selection of the ministers who should become incumbents or rectors. The very innate sense of need of spiritual leaders, and of insistence upon the upholding of moral standards, made it impossible for the laity of the Church to condone the misconduct of immoral or unworthy

<sup>3</sup>Peter Force. *Historical Tracts, III.*

<sup>4</sup>For the laws governing the Vestry see W. W. Hening, *Virginia Statutes at Large, 1619-1808.*

clergymen. They never did; but to the end of the colonial period sought to refuse or to eject the unworthy ones who came.<sup>5</sup> The minister found his lot of spiritual leadership all the harder because he stood alone: but the great majority of them stood the test, and to the clergy of Virginia as a class is due in large part the stressing of the spiritual values and the emphasis upon spiritual ideals that went to make up the character of the Virginian people and the standards of the life of their day.

The civil responsibilities of the vestries made it necessary that parish boundaries be very strictly defined, in order that each vestry might know how far its responsibility of administration, and its authority to assess taxes extended. For this reason the organization of a parish as a geographical unit came first, and the election of a vestry with authority to officiate as such within that particular territory came afterward. Throughout the whole colonial period every acre of inhabited land in Virginia was in some definite and organized parish. This fact had a profound effect upon the thought and action of the Church. It survived the period of the Church's prostration, and remains strongly impressed upon the Church in the diocese of Virginia today: parish boundary still touches boundary, and every foot of land in the diocese is in some parish. The parish boundaries set the limits within which it is the duty of rector and vestry to seek out and minister to all sick and needy folk, and to provide adequate services of the Church.

Another element which strongly influenced the organization of the parish in Virginia was the far-reaching effect of the cultivation of tobacco as both the money-crop and the medium of exchange. In the beginning of colonization the plan of organization of both civil and ecclesiastical units provided for the establishment of "Cities" or Hundreds, each of which was envisioned as a town with its immediately adjoining suburban territory.<sup>6</sup> As the cultivation of tobacco extended, the township idea was necessarily given up. That particular form of agriculture requires wide acres and large farms; and the whole course of development of the colony proved to be against the building up of large towns or closely populated centers. The colonial government, in obedience to urging by the Crown, enacted laws over and over again for the establishment of towns as markets, but towns even when established did not grow. With a population estimated to be about half a

<sup>5</sup>See article, *New Light upon the History of the Church in Colonial Virginia* in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, Vol. X, pp. 69-103. Especially pp. 84-90.

<sup>6</sup>HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, Vol. X, pp. 86-87 and footnotes.

million in 1776, Williamsburg, with less than three thousand inhabitants, was the largest town.

Instead of the township, the county having an area of several hundred square miles became the unit of legislative government and judicial administration. Such a county would usually have two parishes, each parish having a mother-church and, (except in these of smaller extent), from one to three or four chapels of ease, all under the charge of one incumbent minister and one vestry. Because there were no towns and no town meetings the church became the community center, and people came to it to give and receive the gossip and news of the day, and to meet friends and relatives, as well as to worship.

#### JAMES CITY PARISH

The facts set forth in the foregoing discussion of the Virginia parish must be borne in mind in any account of the history of James City Parish. As first settled in 1607 it was a little town with its suburban territory. Before the close of the colonial period it covered a large section of the western end of James City County. During the first ninety years of its existence its church was the "Court Church" of the colony, and thereafter, following the removal of the seat of government to Williamsburg, it became an ordinary rural parish, whose chief importance, outside the usual ministrations of every rural parish, lay in its nearness to the Capitol and the College.

In conformity with the plan as first established by the Virginia Company, the governor, Samuel Argall, on March 28, 1619, declared "The Bounds of the Corporation and Parish of James City" to be as follows:<sup>7</sup>

"I, Samuel Argall, Esq., and Principal Governor of Virginia, do by these presents testify, and upon my certain knowledge hereby do make manifest the bounds and limits of Jamestown, how far it doth extend every way, \* \* \* that is to say the whole Island, with part of the mainland lying on the east side of Argall-Town and adjoining upon the said Island, also the neck of land on the north part and so to the further part of Archer's Hope: also Hog Island: and from thence to the four mile tree on the south, usually called by the name of Tapahannock, in all which several places of ground I hereby give leave and license for the inhabitants of Jamestown to plant as members of the Corporation and Parish of the same. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand the 28th day of March in the year of our Lord 1619, and in the twelfth year of the plantation."

<sup>7</sup>Alexander Brown, *First Republic in America*, p. 287.

This description shows the parish included Jamestown and the suburban territory for three or four miles in every direction, on the south as well as on the north side of the James River. The realization of the desirability of civil and ecclesiastical units of larger area than the earlier Cities and Hundreds and Particular Plantations came to final legislative action in 1634.<sup>8</sup> The "Four Ancient Boroughs" of James City, Charles City, Elizabeth City and the City of Henricus had already been enlarged in area into what were practically shires which included several legislative units and parishes; but in that year the name of shire was officially given to them; and, because of the growth in population and taking up of new land, four additional shires were formed. From the first the name "County" was used as synonymous with "shire" and shortly superseded it entirely.

In this change the Corporation of James City became the County of James City. Both county and parish continued to extend on both sides of the James River for nearly a decade longer. In 1643 the territory south of the River was cut off from James City Parish and formed into Chippokes (pronounced Chip-pokes) Parish. Later the name was changed from Chippokes to Southwark Parish following a general movement to change Indian names for English ones. Although the parish of James City was thus divided the county continued to include the territory on the south side until 1652, when all that part of James City County south of the River was formed into the new county of Surry.

By the formation of Chippokes Parish James City Parish was reduced in size to include only Jamestown Island and the territory on the mainland on the north side of the River "from the furthest part of Archer's Hope" to Argall's Town, which by this time was part of another parish called Chickahominy Parish. James City Parish was still further reduced in size in 1644 by the formation of Harrop Parish out of the territory east of Archer's Hope Creek.

Jamestown was by this time very definitely the capital of a growing colony, and the only real town in a colony which was permitting the other little towns that had begun as centers of Cities or Hundreds to die out in the steadily widening fields of an agricultural community.<sup>9</sup> James City Parish was the only "town parish" in a number of rural parishes.

<sup>8</sup>*Morgan P. Robertson, Virginia Counties, p. 36. A Bulletin issued by the Virginia State Library.*

<sup>9</sup>*For example: the "City of Henricus", which became Henrico County, is today nothing but an island wholly given to agriculture. The town Charles City drifted back to agricultural fields, its name remaining as "City Point", while the "Ancient Borough" became Charles City County. Wostenholme Town, the center of the important Martin's Hundred, has utterly disappeared.*

After the removal of the seat of government to the new town of Williamsburg in 1699, the glory of Jamestown and its church began to wane. As the population of Williamsburg increased that of Jamestown decreased, and within a comparatively few years the "town" was gone and Jamestown Island had become as rural as the rest of the parish.

By the year 1720 the population of the parish, now that its town population had gone, was not sufficiently large to bear the expense of parochial organization. The steady growth of population in Virginia and frequent change of conditions, required frequent reshifting of lines and combinations of parishes in the older sections, as well as the formation of new parishes in freshly settled territory. Quite probably it was the desire to retain the ancient name with all its history that was the determining factor in abolishing and dividing up adjoining parishes to make a normal sized rural parish of James City, rather than abolish that honored name by adding its territory to another. Be that as it may, the two parishes of Wallingford and Wilmington, which extended from James City Parish up the River to a point west of the Chickahominy River, were abolished in the years 1720 and 1723 respectively. The bounds of James City Parish were extended westward to the Chickahominy River, and the remainder of the territory of the two defunct parishes was divided between Blisland, St. Peter's and Westover Parishes.<sup>10</sup>

Since that date the territory of James City Parish has remained intact, and, down until the collapse of the Church of Virginia under post-revolutionary conditions, the parish functioned as an ordinary rural parish. Its boundaries still remain practically as they have stood since 1723. The present description is as follows:<sup>11</sup>

"Beginning at the mouth of Archer's Hope Creek, up this Creek to a pond near Lightfoot Station, where the County line touches the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway, from thence to the headwaters of Yarmouth Creek, down this Creek to the Chickahominy River, and down this River and the James River to the starting point."

It is exceedingly unfortunate that the records of James City Parish have hopelessly disappeared. The vestry minute-books would have contained the records of their actions both ecclesiastical and civil: on the one hand the amounts paid for the care of the poor, the orphaned

<sup>10</sup>For the Act dissolving Wilmington Parish see Chamberlayne, *Vestry Book of Blisland Parish*, pp. xxix, et seq. The Act dissolving Wallingford Parish is found in Hening, *Statutes at Large*.

<sup>11</sup>Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 98.

children bound out under indenture and the annual assessment of taxes at so many pounds of tobacco per poll: on the other the calling of ministers, the building and repair of churches and the acquirement and upkeep of the glebe. The parish register would have shown the vital statistics of baptisms, weddings and funerals. There would have been also a record kept of all births in the parish listed by sex and race. From the first days the duty was laid upon the ministry and vestry of every parish to send to the governor annually a report of the vital statistics; and there is evidence to show that this was done.<sup>12</sup> But fire has done its deadly work over and again. The burning of Jamestown in 1676 destroyed many priceless records. The burning of the state-house in 1698, the burning of the Capitol at Williamsburg in 1746, the burning of the College of William and Mary in 1859, in which, as is believed, were lost all the official papers and records of James Madison, first bishop of Virginia and last rector of James City Parish: the destruction and devastation incident to the War of Revolution, and later, of the War Between the States: and, over all the carelessness and neglect that have in so many cases in Virginia completed the destruction of records that escaped both fire and war.

#### THE CLERGY AND THEIR WORK

From the beginning in 1607, to the end in 1812, as far as can now be known, James City Parish was fortunate in the character, and the power of spiritual leadership of its ministers. The men of the flotilla of little ships which brought the first settlers to Jamestown were loud in their praises of their minister, "good maister Hunt".<sup>13</sup> His influence as pastor and peacemaker showed itself, even before they reached Virginia, as he was called upon constantly to quiet the quarrels that arose among the ill-assorted group while the ships lay becalmed for weeks at the beginning of their voyage. He was already the beloved friend and guide of all by the time they reached their destination. One may picture him as he offered prayers of thanksgiving in behalf of them all, when they landed at Cape Henry, for the first brief hours upon the soil of their new home; or as he conducted the first services at Jamestown, and preached his first sermons: or as he

<sup>12</sup>For an illustration of the kind of reports required annually of the parishes, see the list of births by parishes in the report of the governor to the Board of Trade in 1726, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 207.

<sup>13</sup>Edward L. Goodwin, *Colonial Church in Virginia*, gives on page 329 a list of all ministers of James City Parish as far as they were known in 1927, when that book was published. It contains also an alphabetical list of all the clergy of colonial Virginia with biographical sketches. For Robert Hunt see p. 280.

celebrated the Holy Communion for the first time, administering that Sacrament to men kneeling before an altar-rail consisting of a spar lashed between two trees: or as he went on his God-ordained way, making peace between warring factions, enduring without a murmur the loss of all his books and clothing in the fire which destroyed the town in the following year. His fame is so abiding, his work of such great and continuing influence, that it is hard to realize that he succumbed to the climate, and died after less than two years of ministry at Jamestown.

Men had to wait for the arrival of a ship before they could send word back to England that their minister was dead, and then another wait must be endured until a new expedition of ships set out with settlers and supplies. More than a year passed before his successor, the Rev. Richard Buck arrived. All records are silent as to whether Richard Buck, like Robert Hunt, was a vicar appointed by Richard Hakluyt as rector. Probably he was, as Hakluyt lived until 1616.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps we may assume that Buck, having proven his fitness for the position, was appointed rector after the death of Hakluyt, and thereby the second vicar became the first resident rector of the parish. To be sure there is no actual authority for such assumption; but knowing how eagerly both the Virginia Company and the first settlers endeavoured to do everything at Jamestown just as it was done in England, it would be almost obvious to think that Hakluyt's rectorship continued until his death. The only reason for any minister in England at that time holding a plurality of benefices was the fact of the salary attached to the rectorship: after paying the salary of a vicar there would be a material amount left for the rector: and the salary of £500 for the rector of Jamestown was a hard fact.

Be that as it may, Richard Buck's incumbency of the Parish of James City continued until his death about the beginning of the year 1624.<sup>15</sup> He was a graduate of Cambridge University, which at that time was the center of the strong Puritan influence of that day in the Church of England. While loyal to the Church in doctrine and worship, as contrasted with the more intransigent Puritans who later were forced out of the Church of England into open dissent, he and the Rev. Alexander Whitaker, who came to the charge of the City of Henricus in 1611, were undoubtedly the leaders of Church life in Virginia.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup>See *Sketch of Richard Hakluyt in Encyclopedia Britannica*.

<sup>15</sup>See sketch, with reference to sources in Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 256. Reference of other clergymen who are mentioned in the Story of James City Parish is made to the same list.

<sup>16</sup>See Anderson, *History of the Colonial Church*, 2nd edition, Vol. I, p. 233 and *passim*. Also see the index of brief biographies alphabetically arranged in Alexander Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, Vol. II, for sketches of Alexander Whitaker, Richard Buck, and Robert Hunt.

Mr. Buck was given the privilege of ministering in Jamestown through the formative years from 1610 to 1624. He performed the marriage of the Indian princess Pocahontas and Captain John Rolfe in 1614, which insured peace with the Indians until after the death of her father Powhatan, in 1619. He took part in the meeting of the first legislative assembly that ever met in the New World. The General Assembly of Virginia, consisting of an Upper House or Council appointed by the Company, and a House of Burgesses whose members were elected by the people of the eleven Boroughs or Hundreds then established, assembled July 30, 1619. It met in the Church at Jamestown, and Mr. Buck officiated as its chaplain.<sup>17</sup> Again, in 1622, when peace with the Indians was broken by the Great Massacre of Good Friday, March 22, 1621/22, he ministered to the people in the midst of a calamity which destroyed the lives of nearly a third of the people of the colony.

How little is known of the details of the Church's work in that far-off day! Pocahontas was the first convert from among the Indians to the Christian faith, but there were also others who became Christians. A definitely established plan of Christianization provided for English families to receive young Indians into their homes and endeavor to instill into them the teachings of the Christian faith. A Christian Indian, Chanco, saved the colony from total annihilation upon the fateful night of massacre. Having learned of the Indian plot and their plans on the day before the appointed time, he revealed it to his English friend and employer; and so Jamestown and its neighboring settlements were warned in time to arm themselves and to put up successful resistance.

Mr. Buck's death occurred in the same year in which King James dissolved the charter of the Virginia Company and resumed the active administration of Virginia as a royal colony. This change at once threw into the discard all plans which the Virginia Company had formulated for the spiritual and educational interests of the colony. Operations had already been begun looking to the completion of buildings and opening of the College of the proposed University of Henricus, and a headmaster was already being sought for the East India School, but both efforts were discontinued, never to start again. The committee of the Company whose duty it was to seek out and recommend ministers to be sent to Virginia was dissolved. Throughout the rest of the colonial period the Church in the colony had to fend for it-

<sup>17</sup>*Kingsbury, Records of the Virginia Company, Vol. III, pp. 155, et seq. Also Alexander Brown, First Republic, pp. 309-13. But note that Brown uses the New Style in all his dates. They are, therefore, ten days later than the dates used in the original records.*

self, and secure its ministers as best it could. By a gradual development following this event, the General Assembly necessarily assumed authority over the temporal affairs of the Church, and methods of organizing parishes and selecting vestries grew into custom and were eventually written into the laws of the colony.

Richard Buck was succeeded in the incumbency of James City Parish by the Rev. Hawte Wyatt, a brother of the governor, Sir Francis Wyatt. He served as minister for two or three years and returned to England. He was succeeded by the Rev. Francis Bolton who in turn was followed about 1630 by the Rev. Thomas Hampton, who held the charge during the stormy years of civil war in England and unrest in Virginia. It was a transitional period of violent change both in State and Church. During the whole of the reign of King Charles I the people of Virginia remained profoundly loyal to a king whose only interest in the colony seemed to be what he could get out of it. Very patently, his reason for permitting the colony to continue its form of legislative government was to secure for himself from the Virginia Assembly the monopoly of the tobacco trade: and the Virginia Assembly refused to give him that monopoly.<sup>18</sup> The governor appointed by the King, Sir John Harvey, proved to be so arbitrary in his actions that the members of the Council of the colony formally arrested him in 1635 and shipped him back to England. The King promptly sent him back to Virginia but the penalties inflicted, because of this act of rebellion, were afterward remitted, and the governor learned a very salutary lesson.

The Rev. Anthony Panton, minister of Kiskyacke came into public notice in the heat evoked during this period of resentment against arbitrary conduct on the part of the governor by expressing publicly the opinion that Mr. Secretary Kemp, the Secretary of State of the colony, "was a jackanapes." He went further and remarked that "his tie is as olde as Paules." For this *lese majeste* he was removed from his parish and banished from the colony; but he appealed to the Privy Council in England; which reversed the sentence of banishment, and ordered him to be restored to his parish with payment of all back salary covering the period of his banishment.<sup>19</sup> This decision, as can easily be understood, greatly strengthened the position of the clergy of Virginia.

The King, in 1632, gave away to Lord Baltimore the territory

<sup>18</sup>McIlwaine, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619-1656*. See the Introduction under account of the meeting of the House of Burgesses in 1627.

<sup>19</sup>Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 297. McIlwaine, *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia*, pp. 494-96, and *passim*. The "tie as old as Paules", refers to St. Paul's Cathedral in London.

north of the Potomac River, unpleasantly close to the Virginia colony. When the first settlers came in 1634 it was seen that a separate property government had been established as a haven for Roman Catholics, whose only safe harbors had to be reached by passing through the Chesapeake Bay, and along shores which were essential to the protection of the people of Virginia. "The King can do no wrong:" is quite true; but the Virginia government immediately began to send as many new settlers as possible to occupy the southern shore of the Potomac River. Whether this action was taken to prevent the King from giving away any more of Virginia's territory, or to establish a force of loyal members of the Protestant religion as a defense against the anticipated menace of a Roman Catholic colony, was not said. In fact, nobody said anything: they simply sent as many settlers as possible to settle on the Potomac River.

And still Virginia remained stedfastly loyal to her King. She had her "Fifth Columnists" it is true. There was a certain number of non-conformist Puritans who had been permitted to live in Virginia without molestation. They lived in Nansemond County, on the south side of the James River, above Jamestown. From this group, in 1642, a request went to the Puritans of Massachusetts, to send them missionaries, and three were sent.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps there was among the Puritan elders of Boston a strong even if belated desire to save souls in the colony of Virginia from the burning, but to Governor Berkeley and his Council of State it seemed much more likely that the missionaries had come to study the situation and canvass the possibilities of organizing resistance to the King's government. Hence the law enacted at that time imposing a heavy fine upon any shipmaster who should bring a Puritan into Virginia: and hence the "harrying" by the Governor of the Puritans in Nansemond until they fled to Maryland.

After a few years came the beheading of King Charles, in 1649; and in the following year a fleet of British warships appeared in the James River demanding the submission of Virginia to the government of Oliver Cromwell. Submission was perforce made, and permission was granted for the use of the Prayer Book for one year longer, provided that prayers for the King and the Royal Family were not publicly said. Then the fleet returned to England and there was no one to report whether the Virginia parishes prayed for their King or not.

As far as the parish of James City was concerned very little is known. They were in the very center of things and sharing in all the

<sup>20</sup> *William and Mary Quarterly Magazine, 1st Series, Vol. IX, p. 236. Also Vol. XII, p. 56-57.*

interest and excitement of public affairs. There is no record to show the date of the death or resignation of Thomas Hampton. The Rev. Robert Lesley, son of the bishop of Down and Connor, was rector of James City Parish in 1649.<sup>21</sup> He returned to Ireland and himself became bishop of Dromore, of Raphae and of Clagher. How long he served at Jamestown is not known. During the decade from 1650 to 1660 two names appear as being connected in some way with Jamestown, but if or when either one was minister of the parish is not quite clear. They were the Rev. Philip Mallory and the Rev. Roger Green. During one part of the decade or another each of these ministers was minister of a neighboring parish, and at other times each one appears in Jamestown. In 1656 the General Assembly appointed these two ministers as a committee to examine and certify the ability of ministers seeking exemption from public levies.

Immediately after the restoration of King Charles II, Rev. Philip Mallory was requested by the General Assembly in 1661 to go to England "to undertake the soliciting of our Church's affairs."<sup>22</sup> He reached London before the end of that year, and died there. As to what effect his mission to England had upon the interests of the Church in Virginia no one knows. Certainly the condition was bad, and grew worse. Virginia had been well supplied with clergymen during the period of the Commonwealth by reason of the Cavalier clergymen who had their livings in England sequestrated, and who fled to the loyal colony for refuge. The return of the King, however, and the enactment of the law ejecting from Anglican parishes incumbents of non-Anglican ordination, who had come into them during the period of the Commonwealth, produced more vacancies than the supply of available clergy could fill. Consequently there were none left to supply the needs of the colony, and Virginia was compelled perforce to employ occasionally a clergyman of non-Anglican ordination, or permit their parishes to remain vacant.

This condition was in some way forced upon the attention of King Charles. The King undertook in 1667 the abortive effort to establish a diocese in Virginia with Jamestown as the see city, and to send a bishop to America. The charter was prepared,—and remained unsigned. The bishop-designate was nominated,—his friend and fellow exile, the Rev. Alexander Moray, then living in Virginia and rector of

<sup>21</sup>Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 287. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 309-12., and both *Oxford* and *Cambridge Alumni Lists*.

<sup>22</sup>Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

Ware Parish in Gloucester County,—but something happened, and the plan fell through.<sup>23</sup>

The Rev. Justinian Aylmer came to James City Parish in 1667, following a pastorate of twenty-two years in Elizabeth City Parish at Hampton. He died early in 1671, and his successor, the Rev. Samuel Jones, held the charge for a very few months and died that same year. Quite probably he was a very young man, newly arrived, who fell a quick victim to the climate.

The next two ministers bring the story of the parish into the heated atmosphere of Bacon's Rebellion: The Rev. James Wadding, who was the incumbent for a year or so about 1672 and then went to the charge of Petworth Parish in Gloucester County, and the Rev. John Gough, or Clough,<sup>24</sup> who was the incumbent in 1676. Both of these ministers were arrested by the forces of Nathaniel Bacon and threatened with death because of their loyalty to the governor. Each one was eventually released.

The people of Virginia saw King Charles II restored to his throne with enthusiasm and joy, and they gladly welcomed Sir William Berkeley upon his reappointment to the office of governor from which he had been ejected in 1650; but their enthusiasm grew very thin with the passing of the years, and their welcome to Governor Berkeley turned eventually to murmurings of discontent and growing resentment as they perceived his increasing arbitrariness and disregard of the welfare of the colony. The irascible old man who had "thanked God that there was not a printing press in the colony" took away from the people their right to elect representatives to the General Assembly by the simple expedient of refusing to dissolve the House of Burgesses and order a new election. So Virginia's "Long Parliament" continued in office for nearly sixteen years, from 1660 to 1676. An effort undertaken shortly after the Restoration to revive plans for a college died under the increasing bitterness of discontent of the people. The Indians began to make depredations upon frontier settlements, and, because the governor seemed to refuse to make any effort to resist them, their attacks became increasingly bold and destructive.

The outbreak of the people came in 1676 under the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon, of Henrico County, and involved the whole colony. Apart from the section immediately around Jamestown, and the Eastern Shore which was free from Indian attack, almost all the rest of

<sup>23</sup>See *William Stevens Perry, Virginia Volume, appendix. For the English translation, see Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 45-53.* Anderson, *History of the Colonial Church, Vol. II, pp. 358-9.*

<sup>24</sup>See Godwin, *op. cit.* under both names. Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic* uses both. Probably Gough is correct.

the colony was in arms against the governor and his supporters. He was forced to give up Jamestown and retreat across the Bay to the Eastern Shore. Jamestown was burned. Bacon died, and there was no one to succeed him; and the fire of rebellion was quenched in the blood of many "rebels" who were hung by order of Governor Berkeley.

The next minister whose name appears upon any extant record as incumbent of James City Parish was the Rev. John Clayton, F.R.S. who held the charge for two or three years, 1684-86, and then returned to England. He went to the rectorship of Crofton in Yorkshire, and while there wrote an "*Account of Several Observables in Virginia*" which appeared in a series of letters in *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society for June, November, December, 1693 and May, 1694.<sup>25</sup>

The Rev. James Blair was called to the rectorship of the parish in 1694. He had come to Virginia in 1685 and become minister of Henrico Parish, and was appointed the first commissary of the bishop of London in 1689. He was the inspirer and leader of the movement which resulted in the establishment by royal charter of the College of William and Mary in 1693, and was made its president for life. He came to the charge of James City in 1694 and after a pastorate of sixteen years went to Bruton Parish in 1710.

Commissary Blair was by long odds the greatest ecclesiastical leader and statesman of the Virginia Church during the colonial period. Armed with the undefined power and shadowy authority given him as commissary to the bishop of London he labored diligently to strengthen and build up the Church, holding conventions of the clergy from time to time, and making visitations to parishes in order to investigate charges of unworthiness on the part of incumbent ministers. He won for himself and his successors as commissary the right to a seat in the King's Council, which was the Upper House of the General Assembly of Virginia, and so for the first time the Church, although the Established Church of the colony, had actual representation, even though inadequate, in the colonial legislature. The Church in Virginia owes much to Commissary Blair.<sup>26</sup>

The town of Jamestown had been rebuilt, and its gutted church restored after the destruction of 1676, but the burning of the state-house in 1698 struck the hour of doom for Virginia's first capital city. The town of Williamsburg had been established by that time and, sit-

<sup>25</sup>Goodwin, *op. cit.* Also *William and Mary Quarterly Magazine*, 2nd Series, Vol. 19, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup>The Rev. Edgar Legare Pennington has written an excellent account of Commissary Blair; Published by the Church Missions Publishing Company of Hartford, Conn.

uated on the ridge of higher ground between the James and York Rivers, it was free from the marshes of the river shores, and consequently freer from mosquitoes, malaria and typhoid fever. The government was moved from Jamestown to Williamsburg in 1699, and the buildings of the college were used until a state-house could be erected. So ended the glory of Jamestown as the capital, but James City Parish continued in existence, although the population dwelling upon Jamestown Island steadily decreased as business and other reasons carried its residents to the new capital.

A new lease of life came to the parish in 1720. Its career as a town parish was closed never to be reopened, but the enlargement of its territory made it a rural parish of fairly respectable size. After a number of years the church building in Jamestown grew old and in need of much repair, and the desire grew for the erection of a church upon the mainland which would be more convenient of access to the parishioners in the western end of the parish.<sup>27</sup> The exact date is not known, but at some time during the administration of Robert Dinwiddie as governor, 1751 to 1758, "a new brick church" was erected for James City Parish. It was built upon the "Main" Farm about three miles from Jamestown and on the road from Williamsburg to Barret's Ferry. It was called "The Church on the Main", to distinguish it from the older building on Jamestown Island.<sup>28</sup>

After the erection of the new building services were discontinued at Jamestown. Within a few years the church building, exclusive of the tower, was pulled down, and the bricks used in erecting a wall around the churchyard. The old tower still stands.

The history of James City as a rural parish has passed into oblivion along with the names of its vestrymen, and many of its ministers. Rev. William Le Neve was the incumbent from 1722 to 1737: Rev. William Preston in 1755 and Rev. John Barclay in 1758.

The Rev. William Bland was minister from 1767 to 1777, when James City Parish, along with the rest of Virginia, was passing through the experiences that led to the Amercian Revolution. Mr. Bland served as chaplain of the First Virginia Regiment of militia from 1775, through 1776<sup>29</sup> and perhaps longer.

January 1, 1777 was notable in the annals of Virginia as the day upon which all taxes for the support of the Church were ended. After that date no salary was assured to any minister of a parish except such

<sup>27</sup>For a good account of the several church buildings erected at Jamestown see W. A. R. Goodwin, *Record of Bruton Parish Church*.

<sup>28</sup>Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic*, p. 83. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. V, p. 246.

<sup>29</sup>*Virginia Magazine*, Vol. XLI, pp. 124-25.

amounts as could be pledged by the parishioners. The fact that under the war conditions there was no foreign trade, and tobacco, the money crop, had become a drug on the market; and the paper money, both Virginian and Continental currency was rapidly depreciating in value; made the situation a very serious one for any minister dependent upon his salary alone. The only assured income to any incumbent was the yield of crops upon his glebe.

The Rev. James Madison, professor of mathematics at the college, who had been elected its president in that year, accepted also the rectorship of James City Parish. As professor or president of the college he had no glebe. Perhaps it was upon the possession of the parish glebe that he depended for remuneration regardless of whether the parish could pay him a money salary or not.

The last year of actual warfare, 1781, found him and both college and parish in desperate financial plight. Williamsburg had been invested by British soldiers and, president of a college and rector of a parish though he was, James Madison had gathered the lads of the college into a company of militia; and with himself as the captain they saw service under General Thomas Nelson as commander in chief of the Virginia forces.<sup>30</sup>

Conditions however changed somewhat for the better after the close of the conflict, and Madison was enabled to continue his educational and pastoral work. Elected and consecrated the first bishop of Virginia in 1790 he carried throughout the rest of his life, until his death in 1812, the utterly impossible burden of reviving a college that had been wrecked by long years of war and financial depression, and administering a diocese that had been without proper organization for 183 years. That he failed in his work for the Church, and saw it go down into physical devastation and spiritual prostration, was not his fault. He was the helpless victim of a policy the making of which he had been unable to prevent.”<sup>31</sup>

He continued to hold his rectorship of the parish throughout his lifetime; and held services at the Church on the Main as long as there were any to attend. In the General Convention clergy list of 1801 he is reported as rector; after that date, in the general discouragement of the times, he made no further report. Perhaps his parochial ministrations were ended only by his death: no one knows. But, whether then or earlier, he was the last rector of James City Parish. After his death it became disorganized: the glebe was sequestered and sold, and

<sup>30</sup>*Virginia Magazine, Vol. XLI, pp. 239-40.*

<sup>31</sup>*HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, Vol. IV, pp. 37, et seq.*

eventually the church building was pulled down and the brick used for other purposes.

When the Church in Virginia began to revive under Bishop Richard Channing Moore, the awakening Church life of James City County centered at Williamsburg and Bruton Church, and no effort seems to have been made either to reopen the Church on the Main or even to preserve it for the future. It has remained for the people of a century later to realize the historical importance of a revival of James City Parish. Its territory has always remained intact, and has never been officially added to any other parish.

Shortly after the beginning of the present century the Colonial Dames of Virginia erected a memorial building upon the site of the Jamestown Church. An out-door shrine has been erected within a stone's throw of the memorial building by the gifts of interested Churchmen, where an impressive bronze bas-relief, depicting the first Communion "under an olde sayle" at Jamestown in 1607, serves as a reredos for an out-door altar.

To this shrine come annually during the summer vacation months a pilgrimage of worshippers from Virginia and Maryland for a weekend retreat at the college and an early celebration at the Shrine. And here, on the annually recurring Third Sunday after Trinity, is held the Home-coming Day service of the Church in Virginia.

By appointment of the bishop of the diocese of Southern Virginia, in which the county and parish are now located, the rector of Bruton Parish is given the spiritual oversight of James City Parish; but in the steady increase of population under present-day conditions, the day cannot be far off when the population of James City Parish will require the revival of organization of the old Mother Parish of the Church, and the erection once more of a "Church upon the Main."

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N. B. The next articles in the series of "Historic Parishes" will be Saint Paul's Church, Baltimore, by the Reverend Doctor A. B. Kinsolving.

## WORDSWORTH, BISHOP DOANE AND THE SONNETS ON THE AMERICAN CHURCH

*By Kenneth Walter Cameron*

**L**ITERARY historians and editors<sup>1</sup> of Wordsworth's poems have long known George Washington Doane, Bishop of New Jersey (1832-1859), supplied material<sup>2</sup> for two of the "Ecclesiastical Sonnets" in the summer of 1841, but scholarship, to date, seems to be aware only of the following brief accounts of the circumstances:<sup>3</sup>

[Wordsworth to Henry Reed, Aug. 16, 1841:] [Bishop Doane] is a man of no ordinary powers of mind and attainments, of warm feelings and sincere piety. Indeed, I never saw a person of your country, which is remarkable for cordiality, whose manner was so thoroughly cordial. He had been greatly delighted with his reception in England, and what he had seen of it both in art and nature. By the by, I heard him preach an excellent sermon in London.

Bishop Doane told the following anecdote to the writer's grandfather. The bishop and Wordsworth went for a long walk and were overtaken by a thunderstorm. As soon as they reached home Wordsworth supplied his guest with dry clothing, especially with dry shoes. When Bishop Doane was all dressed he stood up and said: 'Think of being in Wordsworth's shoes!'

In the latest edition of Wordsworth's correspondence, moreover, only a part of one letter from the poet to the Bishop survives:<sup>4</sup>

. . . The proceedings of some of the States in your country, in money concerns, and the shock which is given to the credit of the State of Pennsylvania, have caused much trouble under our roof, by the injury done to some of my most val-

<sup>1</sup>See Frederick Beatty, *William Wordsworth of Rydal Mount, London*, [1939], 250. Also Abbie Findlay Potts, *The Ecclesiastical Sonnets of William Wordsworth: A Critical Edn.*, New Haven, 1922, 32, 288-289.

<sup>2</sup>See George Washington Doane, *The Path of the Just: A Sermon in Commemoration of Bishop White, Burlington*, [N. J.], 1836.

<sup>3</sup>Frederika Beatty, *op. cit.*, 250-251.

<sup>4</sup>See *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth (The Later Years)*, ed. Ernest de Selincourt, (3 vols.), Oxford, 1939, III, p. 1133. The fragment comes from *The Dial for July, 1842*.

able connexions and friends. I am not personally and directly a sufferer; by my brother, if the State of Pennsylvania should fail to fulfil its engagements, would lose almost all the little savings of his long and generous life. My daughter, through the perfidy of the State of Mississippi, has forfeited a sum, though but small in itself, large for her means; a great portion of my most valued friends have to lament their misplaced confidence. Topics of this kind are not pleasant to dwell upon, but the more extensively the injury is made known, the more likely is it, that where any remains of integrity, honor, or even common humanity exist, efforts will be made to set and keep things right. . . .

In neglecting Bishop Doane's *Journal*, therefore, scholarship has missed a delightful account of a long and ardent friendship and evidence of a considerable correspondence between the two men. Two new letters from Wordsworth to Doane immediately appear and, with the Bishop's diary, throw much light on the characters of writer and recipient, enlarging considerably our knowledge of the facts concerning the sonnets of the American Church.

On April 28, 1841,<sup>5</sup> Henry Reed (Wordsworth's American editor) had written the poet, urging him to augment his chain of sonnets with others designed to show how the Episcopal Church in the United States was, by episcopal succession, a true daughter of the Church of England through the consecration of Bishop William White. He had enclosed with the suggestion his own published article on Bishop White.<sup>6</sup> Two and a half months later, Bishop Doane met Wordsworth for the first time and, at Morley's Hotel in London, under date of July 12, wrote down his first impressions:<sup>7</sup>

The same day I dined the only guest with the Literary Society, of which Sir R. H. I. is President. The Vice Chancellor of England, Earl of Ripon, Mr. Lockhart &c., were present. Sir Robert Harry Inglis placed me on his right; and Mr. Wordsworth (*the!*) placed himself on my right, and in five minutes we were talking as if we had always known each other, and so through the whole dinner. Very soon he asked me to dine with him, the next day, which I could not, being engaged to go to Cambridge. Then he proposed my meeting him, at Harrow. And finally, made me promise not reluctantly to visit him at the Lakes. He is a true philosopher, and as simple and fresh as a child. He told me he would write a sonnet more to his Ecclesiastical, on the American

<sup>5</sup>See Wordsworth and Reed, *Correspondence*, p. 51 (cited in Beatty, *op. cit.*, 250).

<sup>6</sup>See Beatty, *op. cit.*, 250.

<sup>7</sup>See William Croswell Doane, *A Memoir of the Life of George Washington Doane*, (4 vols.), New York, 1860, I, 353.

Church. Whereupon I offered him my sermon on the death of Bishop White, which I sent to him with the inscription which I deem the literal truth.

To William Wordsworth  
The Poet and the Sage,  
God's blessing to our times.

That visit at the Lakes, Doane never forgot, for it was vividly recalled at the time of Wordsworth's death in 1850, as one may see in the very rare official paper of the Diocese of New Jersey:<sup>8</sup>

WORDSWORTH IS DEAD!

You have asked some notice of me, dearest Willie, of this great, wise, good, man. And I would gladly gratify you, and honour him. But, where, to begin? Or, where, to end? There seems to me no medium, between the silent reverence, with which, the three words, "Wordsworth is Dead!" have been uttered and heard, throughout the world; and the volume, such as no living hand, I fear, is equal to, which should express his vast and varied greatness. For he must stand as Poet, *fifth* to the immortal *Four*—Chaucer, Spencer, Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth—while, as a Christian, and a man, there is a serenity of sacredness, about him, in which, in his own beautiful expression, he is "like a star," and dwells apart. I shall limit myself chiefly, then, for the present, to an extract from a journal, made in 1841, for you, and the other home dear ones. Were I at liberty to use the letters, which, to the last year of his life, attested the reality of his friendship; or to refer to the numerous and unquestionable tokens, in the cordial reception of friends, and in continued, kindest messages, some measure, of the personal loss, I have sustained, would be supplied. But what is that to the bereavement of the world, of nature, and of man? WORDSWORTH IS DEAD!

"Thursday, 5 August, 1841. At eight, took the coach for Kendal. As there is opposition, on this route, they make great speed. I never was driven so fast. Horses were changed in one minute. Waited, an hour, at Kendal; and then took the coach, for Ambleside. In this part of England everything has a grey look. The houses are of grey stone. The hedges give place to grey stone walls. Shortly before reaching Ambleside, we came in site of Winandermere. It is a beautiful sheet of water. Ambleside is a little straggling town, with no particular poetry about it: and, yet, the name smacks of Parnassus. Anxious to see the most of Mr. Wordsworth, we did not stop. A mile farther, is Rydal. We left the coach, in a heavy shower; from which we took shelter, in a neat cottage, with 'lodgings to let.' We left our trunks here, and went up Rydal Mount, as soon as the rain was over. Could it be Rydal Mount?

<sup>8</sup>See *The Missionary*, VII (Burlington, N. J., 1850), Nos. 7-8 (July-August), p. 30. [Only recorded copy appears in the N. Y. Historical Society, N. Y. C.]

And could that modest, yellow Cottage, all overgrown with ivy and with roses, be Mr. Wordsworth's? It really was: and, entering the little wicket, in a moment, we were in a small book parlor, and most cordially greeted by the Poet-patriarch, himself. He had been out in the rain, and thoroughly wet; and was taking his comfort, in an old pair of pantaloons, and a plaid, half coat, half gown. We were at home, at once; and *must* dine with him, at two. Mrs. Wordsworth soon came in; and made our welcome warmer, by the kindness of her manner. By and by, Mr. Wordsworth went into another room, to show us, he would not say what: and brought with him an engraved portrait of my excellent friend Sir Robert Harry Inglis; which, on my admiring it, perhaps, over earnestly, he insisted on my taking. I agreed to do so, on the condition that it should be his present to your Mother. He had been thinking, he said, about the Sonnet for the American Church: and had tried to find a place for it, among his Ecclesiastical Sonnets; but could not. I asked permission to take the volume; and showed him where it might come in.<sup>9</sup> He assented to it; and promised to write it, and that I should bear it to America. He took us out, for a few moments, to see some of the most beautiful, of the near points of view: Winandermere, on one side, and Rydal Water, on the other. We dined, in what had been the kitchen; a low, plain room, plainly, but becomingly furnished. An old armory was very remarkable. It was of oak, richly carved; with an inscription, to the effect, that it was made for William Wordsworth, in 1534. It bore the name of several of his family; with the prayer, in Latin, that God would be propitious to their souls. After dinner, we took a walk. I had told him of your sister's three commissions: his autograph; ivy, from Kenilworth; and heather, from Abbotsford. He immediately said, there must also be a flower, from Rydal Mount. Of this, he went in pursuit: questioning what it should be; and settling on a pansy, if he could find one. On our way, he picked several little wild-flowers; it must be wild, he said: and, among the rest, a little yellow flower, called there *Lamb's Lakings*, or playthings. He seemed to enjoy the etymology, very much. At last, in the very spot which he had named, we found a purple cloud of pansies. Could he avoid the application of his own beautiful allusion, in the Ode, entitled, *Intimations of Immortality*, from recollections of early childhood" —

"A single Field, which I have looked upon,  
Both of them speak of something that is gone;  
The Pansy, at my feet,  
Doth the same tale repeat."

<sup>9</sup>Doane's note: "It was next before that which begins, 'Down a swift stream thus far! It is an agreeable coincidence, that Professor Reed, in reply to a letter from Mr. Wordsworth, speaking of our visit and his promise, proposed this same place."

We then went to the noble grounds of Rydal Hall, which adjoin the Mount; visiting first the Lower, and then the Upper Fall. They are truly grand; and the whole scenery, in keeping. Queen Adelaide had walked with him to these points; and Bishop Hobart, in 1823, or 4, had spent a day or two with him, in these grounds. As it had rained hard—he talking, all regardless of it, as we walked—we returned to the house, very wet. We went into the kitchen, and sat down by the fire, to dry. And never was good old mother more active, in caring for her children, than he for us. He would have me wear his coat, till mine was dried; and nothing would do but I must take off my boots, and wear his shoes; to Keswick, and return them by the coach. Think of it, in Wordsworth's shoes! While we waited for tea, he wrote the autograph for your sister; and then, without being asked, filled a sheet, with his name, for us. He showed us first, and other curious, editions of Milton, Thompson, Burns, &c., with striking inscriptions. That of Burns seemed to be his pet. Of the inscriptions, I particularly noticed two. One in the *first* edition of *Paradise Lost*. 'November 13, 1820. My dear Wordsworth, pray accept this little volume; one of the most precious that I can give, or you receive. It will acquire a new value, by becoming yours. *Samuel Rogers.*' The other, the edition of 1671. 'C. Lamb, to the best knower of Milton; and, therefore, the worthiest occupant of this pleasant edition. June 2, 1820.' After tea, we left this rare old man; so happy, in the just sense of a great influence, for good; so happy in the enjoyment of all the springs of life at seventy, with the fullness and freshness of twenty; so happy, in the vindication of his poetical fame, and its establishment, upon the very highest summit of renown; so happy, in the universal homage of confidence, affection and respect; so happy, above all, in the faith and peace of the Gospel. A great source of health and freshness, both of body and mind, has been his out-door life. "I should like to see your Master's Study," said some one, to his cook; "I suppose it is that," pointing to some book-shelves. "No, sir; that is my Master's library; his study is out of doors." This, he told us with much glee. He is no converser. He rather descants. He takes the liveliest interest in the progress of the Church; and anticipated, with great delight, the report which I should carry back. He talked much, and most earnestly, of the prospects of the United States. He said,—was it prophetic?—that the slave question would be our curse; and that we should fall, through annexation."

\* \* \* \* \*

I may send you, dear Willie, a scrap or two more hereafter.  
G. W. D.

A slightly modified account, all the more important for its remoter reminiscence, appears in Doane's correspondence, dated at Morley's Hotel, August 15, 1841:<sup>10</sup>

From this sweet refuge of the ancient faith and piety, we started off by railroad, running 120 miles, between 3 and 8 P. M. Much of it, at the rate of 45 miles an hour towards the Lakes, and the next day at two o'clock (the boys had gone to Scotland) were dining at Rydal Mount with Mr. Wordsworth. Our purpose was to call and spend an hour with him. But not such his. We must make out a day. And so we did. And such a simple patriarchal hospitality my eyes have never witnessed. We went to dinner in what had been his kitchen and still showed the rafters whitewashed. He sat quite as a guest on one side, just taking care of himself. After dinner out we started for a flower; he questioning all the while what it should be, and finally settling with himself that he had lately seen a bunch of pansies and that they would be the thing. So on we tramped, up this way and down that, he following the instinct of his nature as the hart snuffs from afar the brooks of water, till he exclaimed, "there it is!" And sure enough the ground was purple. This secured, we went our way sight-seeing, first to this point, then to that, then to the lower Rydal fall, then it was but half a mile to the upper, and the Queen Dowager walked it with him the other day, and on we went, he all the time descanting as his manner is. It was a rainy day, but he was used to it, and we did not care for it, and so we went to all his favourite points before we stopped. When we got home he went and got me a pair of shoes, and these I must wear to Keswick and send them back by the coach. Such attentions at such a hand were irresistible, and I complied. When we were comfortable, we went to the drawing-room, (all the rooms are lined with books,) and he sat down to write the autograph: and then asking for paper wrote some fifteen, saying that some of my friends perhaps might value them. Such is the sweet unaffected child-like simplicity of the great Poet and Philosopher, the greatest of our time. You will believe that it was painful to part from him, as we did with words and gestures such as heart can never fail to recognize as from the heart. When I had started he ran after me, and would put his own cloak on me and tie it himself, and send his servant (like master like man) to carry the umbrella and see me in the carriage. Hence we pursued our way by Helvellyn to Derwent Water and Keswick for the night.

As soon as possible, and it was nearly nine, I wrote a note to Mrs. Southey to say that I was only there for the night, and asked permission to pay my respects to her and inquire

<sup>10</sup>See W. C. Doane, *A Memoir*, I, 354-355.

after Mr. Southey's health. She returned a most kind note (which you shall have) and in a few minutes we were at Greta Hall. She received me with the deepest feeling, and is well nigh heart-broken. Yet she said "God has been very good to me." She spoke freely of his sad condition. The physicians call it softening of the brain, and ascribe it to over-work. His mind has faded out. He takes no notice of any one but of her. Yet he sits among his books, and takes them down and seems to read, and sighs. It is indeed the saddest case I ever thought of. Our interview though painful, was most interesting. She was evidently delighted with the attention, and said that nothing could have given Mr. Southey greater pleasure than to see me. I left her with the assurance that the sympathy of our whole nation was with her, and her illustrious sufferer. I have written to her since to say, what feeling then prevented.<sup>11</sup>

Once have we met—once only face to face,  
 A brief half hour, by the pale taper's light;  
 Yet should I grieve to be forgotten quite  
 By one, whom Memory, while she holds her place,  
 Will oft, with faithful portraiture, retrace.  
 There are whom in our daily path we greet  
 Coldly familiar—ev'n so to meet,  
 Mind to mind a stranger: while a moment's space—  
 Mystical interchange of tone or look—  
 Binds us to others in strong sympathy,  
 Past and forever.

Wordsworth failed to write the sonnets before Doane left England. Instead, he sent the Bishop a letter at Leeds, on the eve of his embarkation, acknowledging receipt of the sermon on the death of Bishop White and apologizing as follows:<sup>12</sup>

I am not without hope, that, in some favourable moment, I may be enabled to touch the union of the two Churches, through that venerable man, in a manner not wholly unworthy of an event, so important for the spread of Gospel truth and Christian Charity. At all events, I trust the tribute may be sent after you, and, pray, let me have your address; which, not for this purpose only, I should like to be possessed of. Much do I regret, that your short stay among us did not allow of my showing you and your companion more of this pastoral and poetical country.

The sonnets were mailed to Reed in the spring of 1842,<sup>13</sup> with a

<sup>11</sup>*Mrs. Southey wrote a sonnet dedicated to Bishop Doane, dated Greta Hall, Keswick, January 23, 1842, part of which follows (See A Memoir, I, 355):*

<sup>12</sup>*See The Missionary, VII (1850), 30.*

<sup>13</sup>*See Frederika Beatty, op. cit., 251. For an error in dating, see Abbie F. Potts, op. cit., 32.*

note: "I will be much obliged if you will have the enclosed sonnets copied and sent to Bp. Doane, who has not given me his address. W. W."<sup>14</sup>

## ASPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY IN AMERICA

### I. THE PILGRIM FATHERS

Well worthy to be magnified are they  
 Who, with sad hearts, of friends and country took  
 A last farewell, their loved abodes forsook  
 And hallowed ground in which their fathers lay;  
 Then to the new-found World explored their way,  
 That so a Church, unforced, uncalled to brook  
 Ritual restraints, within some sheltering nook  
 Her Lord might worship and His word obey  
 In freedom. Men they were who could not bend;  
 Blest Pilgrims, surely, as they took for guide  
 A will by sovereign Conscience sanctified;  
 Blest while their Spirits from the woods ascend  
 Along a Galaxy that knows no end,  
 But in His glory who for Sinners died.

### II. CONTINUED

From Rite and Ordinance abused they fled  
 To Wilds where both were utterly unknown;  
 But not to them had Providence foreshown  
 What benefits are missed, what evils bred,  
 In worship neither raised nor limited  
 Save by Self-will. Lo! from that distant shore,  
 For Rite and Ordinance, Piety is led  
 Back to the Land those Pilgrims left of yore,  
 Led by her own free choice. So Truth and Love  
 By Conscience governed do their steps retrace.—  
 Fathers! your Virtues, such the power of grace,  
 Their spirit, in your Children, thus approve.  
 Transcendent over time, unbound by place,  
 Concord and Charity in circles move.

### III. CONCLUDED—AMERICAN EPISCOPACY

Patriots informed with Apostolic light  
 Were they, who, when their Country had been freed,  
 Bowing with reverence to the ancient creed,  
 Fixed on the frame of England's Church their sight,  
 And strove in filial love to reunite

<sup>14</sup>See *The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, Boston, N. Y., &c. (Student's Cambridge Edn.), [1904], 627-628, 896.

What force had severed. Thence they fetched the seed  
 Of Christian unity, and won a meed  
 Of praise from Heaven. To thee, O saintly WHITE,  
 Patriarch of a wide-spreading family,  
 Remotest lands and unborn times shall turn,  
 Whether they would restore or build—to thee,  
 As one who rightly taught how zeal should burn,  
 As one who drew from out Faith's holiest urn  
 The purest stream of patient Energy.

The following letter reached Bishop Doane at the same time. It reveals much of the poet's friendship for America:<sup>15</sup>

My dear Bishop,

At last I am able to beg your acceptance of these Sonnets; the latter half of the second, and the third, upon the subject of the English Church in America. I wish they had been more worthy of the matter, and of your perusal; but I have done my best. In commemorating Bishop White, you will observe that I am indebted to your admirable delineation of his character; in the course of the thought, and, partly, of the expression.

I hope your voyage has proved a favourable one; and that no painful change had taken place, among your family, friends, and flock, during your absence, beyond what the instability of our human condition prepares every thinking person to expect.

A few days ago, I received from dear Sir Robert Inglis, an impression of his portrait, to supply the place of the one you so kindly accepted from me. It is declared by different friends, who have seen it, to be one of the best portraits ever taken; and you and I can both speak of the fidelity of the likeness. I mean to have fixed upon the back of mine, an account of the circumstances under which it came into my possession; with a hope of its being preserved, for more than one generation, as a sort of heir-loom in my family.

And now, my dear Bishop, let me bid you farewell, with store of good wishes. The event which brought you to England, did yourself and the Church to which you fill so eminent a station, high credit. May the religious union established between our Churches, continue from age to age; and spread, till every corner of the world be a partaker of its benefits.

[William Wordsworth]

<sup>15</sup>See *The Missionary*, VII (1850), 30.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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*The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt.* In Four Volumes 1937-1940. With Introduction and Notes by the President. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1941. \$30.

In 1938 five volumes of the Public Papers and Addresses of Mr. Roosevelt were published. They covered his two terms as Governor of the State of New York, and his first term as President of the United States. The present issue begins with his second inaugural address of January 20, 1937, and goes down to his message to the Congress of January 16, 1941. Every pronouncement of national and international significance may be found in these beautifully printed volumes, including the President's formal and extemporaneous addresses, proclamations and his more important letters. Of particular human interest are the direct transcriptions of some of the famous semi-weekly press conferences. The Introductions and the Notes, written by the President himself, are illuminating interpretations of the events recorded. It is impossible to exaggerate the historical importance of these Papers and Addresses; as a source of contemporary American history they are invaluable. Not only do they shed light upon an arresting personality, but also upon the domestic and foreign policy of the United States in a critical period. Here is ample material for a study of the workings of the democratic form of government of the people, by the people, for the people.

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*The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church* by George E. DeMille, M. A. Philadelphia. The Church Historical Society. 1941. Pp. 130.

Since the publication of Dr. Manross' History of the American Church we are pretty well supplied with general histories covering the whole life and work of the Church. Now, we have happily reached the stage when monographs on special periods can be written. The first was the admirable volume on the Book of Common Prayer by Parsons and Jones. Here is the second—Mr. DeMille's excellent account of the Catholic Movement, a subject which has long needed treatment, and should be followed by an equally good account of the Evangelical Movement. After an introductory sketch of the Church prior to the Revolution, the author goes on to the origins of the Anglo-Catholic Movement which he finds in what is commonly known as "Connecticut" churchmanship, the Hobart High churchmanship, and the part played by such early Catholics as George Washington Doane and Whittingham. He then passes on to deal with the influence of the Oxford Tracts; the historic debate at the General Convention of 1844, and the effect on the students of the General Theological Seminary resulting in some perversions to Rome. The chapter on "The Beginnings of Ritualism" is both fair and comprehensive and brings out clearly the opposition of the older High Churchmen to ritualistic practices. The period of what may be called "the later

Catholics"—men like Morgan Dix, Milo Mahan, De Koven and Ferdinand C. Ewer, is well handled, as is also the Ritualistic controversy culminating in the General Convention of 1874. There is an interesting chapter on the beginnings of Religious Orders, both women and men.

Equally interesting is the description of the Catholic Movement in the Midwest beginning with the consecration of Bishop Kemper—a Hobart churchman—in 1835 and developing under James Lloyd Breck in the foundation of Nashotah, together with pen sketches of George Franklin Seymour; John Henry Hobart Brown and Father Grafton. One chapter is devoted to "The McGarvey Secession" and the organization known as "The Companions of the Holy Saviour", which came near to wrecking Nashotah. The author appends a list of twenty-one converts to Rome in 1907-8. In his judgment the changes, as compared with the English Prayer Book, made in 1789, and the alternative form in the Ordinal of 1792, indicate a "decidedly non-Catholic trend" at that time, the tide turning with the adoption of the Office of Institution in 1804. But he regards the revision of 1928 as measuring "quite accurately the diffusion of Catholic principles through the Church at large". Enough has been said here to indicate the large scope of the book and the fairmindedness of the author. While obviously in entire sympathy with the Movement, he is not unmindful of the element of weakness which sometimes has characterized it. He is very severe with what he calls "the lunatic fringe" and the publication of the *American Missal*. In the opinion of this reviewer there are two comparatively minor defects in the book—the first is the rather off-hand judgments passed on some of the characters depicted. It is undoubtedly true that William Meade of Virginia was a Puritan, but it is hardly necessary to describe him as "a most unpleasant person". Manton Eastburn of Massachusetts was certainly never characterized by his contemporaries as "a thoroughly unpleasant person". Henry Codman Potter, who was his assistant in Trinity Church, Boston, draws no such picture of him in his *Reminiscences of Bishops and Archbishops*. The second defect is more difficult to define. It is a certain incompleteness of statement which has a tendency to obscure the whole truth. This, of course, is not intentional. On pages 45-6 the writer speaks of Muhlenberg, "but the Tracts, which he read and at first enthusiastically welcomed, did their part in strengthening his desire for a more Catholic ceremonial". It is true that Dr. Muhlenberg was fascinated by the Tracts and Newman's sermons at the outset, but he reacted so far as to say that "his soul had escaped as a bird from the snare of the fowler", and, he added, "I flew back, not to rest on the pier of High Churchism, from which this bridge of Puseyism springs, but on the solid rock of Evangelical truth, as republished by the Reformers" (Ayers. *Life of William Augustus Muhlenberg*, p. 173). One or two errors may be noticed for correction in future editions: On page 50, 37th line, "Washington" should read, "Whittingham". On page 88 Bishop Gailor is said to have been present when Father Huntington made his profession as a member of the Holy Cross. "Gailor" should read "Quintard". The Bibliography is good, as far as it goes, but mention might have been made of two important church publications: *The True Catholic*, edited by a layman, and *The Catholic Champion*, fathered by Arthur Ritchie, who was the first to use the Office of the Benediction in the diocese of New York. The whole Church is under a debt of deep gratitude to Mr. De Mille for his painstaking work and to the Church Historical Society for undertaking its publication.

*St. James' Episcopal Church, Arlington, Vermont, and the Diocese of Vermont.*  
By Reverend George Robert Brush. 1941.

Mr. Brush, who was rector of St. James' from 1926 to 1939, has occupied the years of his retirement by collecting material relating to the history of what is the oldest parish in the diocese of Vermont. After outlining the condition of the Church in New England prior to the War of the Revolution, he deals with the beginnings of St. James' which go back to 1784. Before the erection of a church services were conducted from time to time by missionaries of the S. P. G. from Connecticut and Massachusetts. It is interesting to note that the first convention of the diocese of Vermont was held at Arlington. It consisted of two clergymen and eighteen laymen. The volume covers the early episcopate of Griswold, and the later ones of Hopkins, Bissell, Hall and Booth, with mention of coadjutors Weeks and Bliss. In some important respects the Bibliography is defective. Mention is made of Addison's *Life of Bishop Bass* and of Richardson's *Arthur C. A. Hall*, but not of the *Memoir of Bishop Griswold*, nor of the monumental *Life of Bishop John Henry Hopkins*. Batchelder's *History of the Eastern Diocese* is also omitted.

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*A Catholic Dictionary* edited by Donald Attwater. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. 576.

This is a comprehensive dictionary of words, terms, names and phrases commonly used in the philosophy, theology, canon law, liturgy and so on of the Roman Catholic Church. But it is more than a mere dictionary; it is a most valuable mine of information. To brief notices of the saints in the Roman calendar, it adds an extensive bibliography of books dealing with the doctrine, discipline and history of the Catholic Church. Its value is enhanced by the fact that the subjects are treated in the light of present-day belief and practice. With the exception of the Introduction by the Bishop of Menevia—which is definitely partisan—the general treatment is eminently fair. The scripture quotations are taken from the revised Douay Bible, and the subjects are arranged in alphabetical order. The book is indispensable to all Protestants who desire accurate knowledge of the teaching and practice of the Roman Catholic Church.

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*What Is Christianity?* by Charles Clayton Morrison: Willett, Clark & Co., Chicago and New York, 1940; \$3.00.

This book, comprising the Lyman Beecher Lectures for 1939 at Yale University, is the most arresting and significant contribution from the Protestant side to the problems of Reunion since Dr. Newman Smyth's *Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism* in 1908.

Unlike most essays in this field, this is no rethrasing of old straw, or reshuffling of conventional categories. It represents a new approach, an extraordinarily vital and fertile criticism of generally received, but thoroughly outworn, conceptions of religion. The accepted characteristics of religion as faith, experience, and conduct are subjected to a searching examination; and the author does not find the *locus* of the distinctively Christian religion in any of them. The com-

peting theologies are no more than ideologies: they are secondary, derivative products of reflection; not primary sources of the power of the living Church. "Christian experience," taken alone, is a mere psychology; its logical outcome is a pure humanism, and a "psychological salvation" which is nothing but auto-suggestion. Even the "social gospel," to which the author admits he is committed, is stigmatized as "in some degree, a compensatory device to make up for the lack of profound religious reality. The social gospel can be safely proclaimed and implemented only by a church that is profoundly confident of its religious resources. That kind of church Protestantism does not possess." (p. 231).

The effect of this critique upon the position of the Protestant churches is drastic. It comes to a climax in the author's trenchant statement, "Protestantism is Gnosticism." "The Christ of Protestant theory is only an *idea*. "The Gnostics tried to take Christ out of history. Protestantism has succeeded in taking him out of history. The Christ of Protestantism is an apparition. Luther succeeded where Marcion failed." (p. 217-222).

By a magnificent induction, Dr. Morrison establishes the positive conclusion that Christianity is not merely *a* religion, but *the* religion of God's self-revelation to mankind in history. By this he does not mean only that Christianity is factual, based on certain past events, writings, systems of thought, or institutions, but that it is a living organism, the immortal Body of Christ, unfolding God's eternal purpose unto the ages of ages. To an Anglican, a sufficient sub-title of the book would be: "I believe One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church."

Thus though the author's method throughout is a rigorous criticism of venerated concepts, his conclusions are anything but negative. The Christian faith, experience, ethics, and worship, though primary and originative authority is denied to each of them, emerge revitalized when integrated to the majestic conception of the revelation of God through the historic Christian community.

Even the treatment of the Sacraments is surprisingly fruitful and satisfactory, considering the author's own background. That of Baptism is entirely so. That of the Eucharist has a most luminous passage (p. 154 ff) on St. Paul's new interpretation of the Incarnation in the light of that holy feast. Dr. Morrison has not, however, kept up to date with the latest investigations of the Jewish origins of this Sacrament, and is unaware that the concepts of a real Sacrifice, a real Presence, and a real divine Communion in a cultus-meal were rooted in Jewish belief, whence they passed with virtually no alteration into Christian hands. He not unnaturally fails to criticize the common Protestant assumption that the Eucharist began as a mere rite of "remembrance," overlooking the inherently obvious and now definitely established fact that the whole idea of a eucharistic *Commemoration of the Passion* is certainly a contribution of St. Paul's, found only in his writings, and in those of his follower St. Luke. It is conspicuously absent from the other Synoptics, as it is from the primordial Jewish-Christian ritual of the *Didache*.

It is regrettable that Dr. Morrison did not find room for a chapter which he projected, but wound up by merely presenting "by title," applying to the Roman Catholic Church the same searching criticism to which he subjects Protestantism for its defections from his dynamic idea of a historic Christianity. He stigmatizes as "the Roman Catholic Apostacy" the segregation and monopolizing of the functions of the whole "historic Christian community as the bearer of God's revelation" in "a self-perpetuating, self-contained, autonomous, and sacrosanct hierarchy" (p. 253). He finds the Established Church of England almost equally lacking

in the notes of a free, full, and truly catholic Church, by reason of its control by the State. By contrast, it is very impressive that he accords an apparently complete and ungrudging approval to the "constitutional Episcopate" of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, and seems to consider our communion virtually a model of what the reunited Universal Church of Christ should be.

The *dénouement* of the practical argument of the book is reached on pp. 291-300, where the author urges upon divided American Protestantism the acceptance of that inheritance of the historic Episcopate which we are only too eager to share with them, as an indispensable step for "restoring the Body of Christ." He approves the South-India formula of joint future ordinations as the only workable means of bringing about effectual organic Reunion.

BAYARD H. JONES.

*University of the South  
Sewanee.*

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*The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712.* Edited by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (The Dietz Press, Richmond, Virginia, 1941), pp. xxv, 622.

Some years ago, Dr. Dumas Malone, the distinguished editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, analyzed the question: why did Virginia furnish not only one but two sets of great leaders, those who fought the Revolution and founded the United States, and those of a later group, born between 1800 and 1830, who became world famous military captains during the Civil War? This question, debated for many years, still awaits a complete answer. The reader of Byrd's Diary looks through its pages for light on the Virginia pattern of life and on the quality of the men who built the Commonwealth. Was it the stock that came from England? Was it the Virginia social order? How was this social order built and how did it perpetuate itself for generations?

As Dr. Louis B. Wright points out in his "Introduction," diaries are more abundant for New England than for the South. Frederick Jackson Turner explained this difference on the ground that the men of New England were more given to reflection and contemplation than the Southern men, who were more drawn to action than to writing and philosophical discussion.

The student of eighteenth century Virginia craves exact information about the racial stocks, the manner of living, the people's health and education, amusements, and communications. For this purpose no minutiae of the daily routine of habits, no reference to prices, transportation, or problems of local government can be too detailed. Today the diary is being scrutinized as a source for these facts, which help bring out the whole picture. Each age in turn has a mistaken notion of what succeeding generations will want to know. Therefore, the diarist must be studied for his tacit assumptions as well as for specific data.

William Byrd's Diary is compared by the editors, and by many reviewers, with the Diary of Samuel Pepys of the seventeenth century, but in the opinion of this reviewer, it should be contrasted with that of Parson Woodforde, who mirrored the second half of eighteenth century English parish life. The Parson, of course, tells the story of the leisurely English village community, while William Byrd deals with the creation of a new society, in which he was a staunch participant. The fact that he wrote in "secret" shorthand creates a false expectancy.

Unlike Pepys' revelations, which were regarded as sensational, there is strangely little to have kept secret regarding his character and conduct in the matters that Byrd relates. He does not belong to the race of Pepys, nor to the Grevelles of the nineteenth century, nor to the school of Parson Woodforde with his extrovert's gift of making the provincial universal. The Parson's Diary is "the revelation of the age," and has an exactness which makes an indelible impression upon the reader. In describing his daily rounds, the people he meets, his household, his food, his drink, his bills, his donations to charity, his servants, his amusements, he perfectly portrays the sense of leisure, of the rhythm of the seasons, and of his times, so that the modern reader falls into the contemporary mood.

William Byrd's Diary is the log of his life rather than the record of his response to it. To this extent the reader who seeks to peer through his window into another century is left unsatisfied. Typical is the entry for June 6, 1711:

I rose about 5 o'clock and read two chapters in Hebrew and 300 verses in Homer. I said my prayers and ate cold milk for breakfast. About 9 o'clock came Mr. Bland on his way to Williamsburg and I sent a letter to the Governor. We gave Mr. Bland some milk and raspberries for breakfast. About 10 o'clock came Colonel Hill and Captain [.] who brought his ship from Kiquotan to load her at £10 a ton. About 12 o'clock I went to court and swore to my judgment against Captain B-r-k. I stayed there about an hour and then brought several gentlemen to dinner. We had several things but I only ate boiled pork. Captain S-c-r would have hired my sloop but I would not let him have it under 5 shillings per hogshead. In the evening Will Randolph came and the French parson who told me that Captain Smith on his way from New York had taken a privateer of 90 men. We had a gust in the evening but little rain. Mrs. Harrison and Mrs. Eppes called here. At night the French parson and his three sons went on board their boat to go up the river. I walked in the garden because I could not walk in the pasture. I said my prayers and had good health, good thoughts, and good humor, thank God Almighty.

Why, wonders the reader, was Byrd writing the governor, what was on board the privateer, who were the gentlemen to dinner, and what was the conversation? What did he read? What impression did his conversation or his reading make upon him? Where is a reflection of his reading, or of the value of his fine library?

Quickly evading the endless repetitions, the reader of Byrd winnows out the new information for the re-interpretation of the social scene of the opening years of the eighteenth century. Byrd was up early and late looking after his plantations, his Negroes, his cattle. His duties in setting out trees himself, dosing the Negroes, of whom he lost 17 in the winter of 1710-11, or salvaging barrel staves from his slaves, suggest that in the task of conquering the wilderness he was his own foreman rather than the Virginia gentleman. Resident in England about 25 of the first 30 years of his life, he had been elected a member of the Royal Academy. In Virginia, while concerned over the breaking of his dam, the illness of his wife and children, the spoiling of his tobacco by neglect in storage, he was, nevertheless, struggling to maintain his footing as an Englishman. He instructed his captains to bring him all the recent books and pamphlets on subjects from agriculture to art. He read *The Tatler* zealously and himself wrote a short monograph identifying the English characters in a London satire.

The picture of this split in his world between Virginia and England, is a chief contribution of the Diary. And herein lies the universality of the book. All colonial experience in its earlier stages, whether the Englishman went to

Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Canada, or The Thirteen Colonies, is mirrored here. This dilemma was the problem of the expansion of Europe. How did the emigrant set up life in his new world?

Byrd brought his library with him and, in short, attempted to establish his old world in the new. Thomas Bray, the founder of the S. P. G., whose life was contemporary, knew that the first requisite of an Englishman's migration to the new world was a kit of books and access to libraries. He founded 39 libraries in the American Colonies. The migration of the books softened the impact of the isolation of forest and frontier. Illustrative of the hunger for books among the plain people are the records of the S. P. G., revealing its tremendous efforts to supply this need. The missionaries brought thousands of books, and tracts, and distributed them among their parishioners, all the while writing home to the Society for more. "We want 1000 of them to dispose of in the way that we goe," wrote John Talbot, in 1703, and added that his practice was to take "a Wallet full of Books and carry them 100 miles about and disperse them abroad and give them to all that desired 'em, . . . 'tis a Comfort to the People in the Wilderness to see that some body takes care of them." (John Talbot to Mr. Gillingham, Virginia, May 3, 1703, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), A 1, CXX.)

In this way the missionary was the link with the civilization the colonist had left behind him and an agent in guiding the destiny of the new community.

The reviewer, fresh from the S. P. G. Manuscripts, which were written with the intent of informing other people by meticulous exactness, has a sharp impression—that Byrd's Diary was kept as a book of memoranda for himself. The S. P. G. reporter not only gave the routine detail, but, from time to time, he analyzed the whole colonial scene with a skill worthy of a Swift or a Fielding.

Byrd's interest in Bruton Parish Church and in William and Mary College showed his old world perception that tobacco alone would not create a commonwealth. This new society was already functioning in a system of slavery, rather than on the basis of the caste system with white servants. This economic fact made its tone different. The white boatwright, offered only corn pone, the diet of slaves, "took his horse and rode away without saying anything," thus rejecting inferiority of social status.

The appalling loss of slaves through illness appears throughout the book, and to such an extent that Byrd became convinced that it was a punishment for his personal sins and he prayed God to spare him in this respect. The training of the slaves and their adjustment to the white man's way of life appear again and again. Thievery, breakage, and punishment, rewards for faithful service, for remaining sober on Christmas day, with permission to drink the next day, show in a fresh way the beginnings of plantation discipline and informal codes. Not only the Negro but the white man may be studied as to food, health, and the prime necessity of remaining alive. The first question upon a visit or a meeting was as to the state of health. From the Diary may be compiled a list of meats, vegetables, fruits, and edibles for Tidewater Virginia.

The Church as an institution, "a necessary concomitant of life," appears constantly in all the affairs of the community. Not only was Byrd a constant reader of Archbishop Tillotson's sermons, but the reading or hearing of a sermon brought a critical comment from him more frequently than did any other type of literature. The entry for December 11, 1711, lists church attendance as part of a round of duties:

Frank Eppes came to see me but I was in great haste to go to Council, where the Tuscarora Indians were to sign the treaty with the Governor which they performed accordingly. Then we [went] into court where we were sworn as judges of the Court of Oyer and Terminer and then we went to church to hear the Commissary [James Blair] preach the [assize] sermon which was very indifferent. Then we returned to court where Betty J-r-d-n was convicted of burglary for breaking the Governor's house . . . ."

The case of Betty J-r-d-n, incidentally, offers a glimpse of colonial justice. Sentenced to death for burglary, she pleaded pregnancy and, a jury of matrons having verified this fact, she seems to have been released, for no further mention of her appears in the Diary and Byrd implies that the matter is settled.

The ordinary round of a leading man's daily business is summarized in many entries, and may be quickly glimpsed under the name of William Byrd in The Index. The entry of December 4, 1711, is typical:

I rose about 7 o'clock and read a chapter in Hebrew and some Greek in Homer. I said my prayers and ate boiled milk for breakfast. Abundance of company came to my lodgings and some burgesses among them, with whom I discoursed about the unreasonable taxes on several things. I settled some accounts and then I went to the capitol in my boots because of the snow. The wind came to south and it grew a little warmer, thank God. My man Tom returned home. We rejected the bill concerning the gold coin and began to make a bill about negroes. We sat till about 3 o'clock and then went to dinner. I ate some roast chicken. We sat and discoursed till the evening and then went to the coffeehouse where I lost 10 shillings at whisk. It was 11 o'clock when I returned to my lodgings where I said my prayers and had good health, good thoughts, and good humor, thank God Almighty.

In such an account we see the setting up of a new society in all its aspects: arrangements for the police, the code for Negroes, defense against the Indians, Indian treaties, land surveys and sales, a colonial currency, taxation. At informal conferences at the tavern, or at the governor's residence, or in the executive council, all these social needs were surveyed. Here was the training in political education which gave Virginia its American leadership for a century.

The technical part of the book is exceedingly well done. The transcription of the shorthand by Mrs. Tinling is an excellent job. Names are identified, where possible, and pertinent information is given in the footnotes. Dr. Wright is so familiar with the life and work of William Byrd that he does not always give certain helpful facts, such as the division of Byrd's years between England and Virginia. Sent to England for his education at the age of seven, he saw little of Virginia before 1705, when he was over thirty. After ten years in the Colony, he returned to England for ten years (1715-1726). This information is basic for an understanding of Byrd's life, his Diary, and his other books; and it could have been clearly set forth in the "Introduction." A reminder as to the numbers and quality of the members of the House of Burgesses would be welcome. The Council met frequently. How large was it?

The Diary is a vast pool of material for the student of an emerging colonial nationalism, for the investigation of Anglo-colonial relations and the transit of ideas. It is to be hoped that the two additional parts of Byrd's Diary, covering the periods, 1717-1721, and 1739-1741, will soon be published. If the difficult problem of The Index could have been resolved more satisfactorily, the historian would

have easy access to an accumulation of facts necessarily hidden in the mass memoranda of the book. On such topics as Food, Diet, Diseases, Mortality, Amusements, a more comprehensive analytical Index is clearly indicated in future installments of the Byrd Diaries.

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*The Record of Bruton Parish Church.* By William A. R. Goodwin, D. D. Revised and Edited with Additions by Mary Frances Goodwin. Pp. 205. The Dietz Press, Richmond, Virginia, 1941. \$3.00.

Many who have seen the city of Williamsburg in its restored glory and who have caught there a glimpse of the life of Virginia and her capital city during the colonial period, will welcome the appearance of *The Record of Bruton Parish Church*.

The book is a revision and combination of two published by the Rev. Dr. W. A. R. Goodwin, the first, *Bruton Parish Historical Notes*, in 1903, and a second, *Bruton Church Restored*, published in 1907.

Dr. Goodwin wished to undertake this revision himself before his last illness in order to bring the history of the old Church down through the recent restoration to the present day; the work, after the pen fell from his nerveless fingers, was undertaken by his cousin, Miss Mary F. Goodwin, who has herself been one of the special examiners of colonial records employed by the Williamsburg Restoration.

It is, however, far more than a mere revision, and much more than simply the story of the restoration of an old church building. The new material added has made it more really the story of a living organism existing throughout the whole period of Williamsburg's existence, and sharing its every-day experiences as a vital part of its life. One may read it, if one will, as simply a dry chronicle of events and a bringing to light again of old names graven on crumbling tombstones or inscribed within the fading pages of an old record book; or again, with a little imagination, the people and scenes depicted may come alive and present a living picture of an essentially important side of the life of the period.

Religion is an essentially important part of the life of every community. As one in fancy fills the old church building with some of the many thousands who have worshiped within its walls during its two centuries and more of life, one sees the long line of mothers and fathers bringing their children at the beginning of life to their baptism at the Church's font; or in darker coloring, another procession of wornout bodies being carried to their last resting places in the quiet churchyard. Names of great men and of lesser folk crowd upon the imagination as one thinks of the stirring events that have occurred in the old town, and of the participants who were accustomed to worship in the church. Councillors and Burgesses from every section of the colony; the rich dress of the representatives of the older and wealthier counties side by side with the homespun of the frontier; the Governor arriving in state, the townspeople with their families; the boys of the College sitting in their gallery and the Negro servants in theirs; Peter Pelham, the organist-gaoler, in the organ loft, dividing his attention between the new organ and the condemned prisoners whom he had brought to church the better to keep his eye on them; and perchance, as a people apart, a little group of native lads from the Indian School in Brafferton Hall.

There were anxious periods of community distress when fast-days were observed, with Bruton church filled with worshipers praying for the averting of some plague, of caterpillars, of disease, or other calamity. Perhaps the tensest day of all was the day of fasting and prayer set for the first of June, 1774, because that was the day the British government had announced for closing the Port of Boston. Anxiety and fear made worship more real and prayer more earnest in the dark days of the Revolution, and again in the War Between the States. There were times during both of these periods of war when, the town being threatened or in the possession of the enemies of the Commonwealth of Virginia, churches were closed and worship there forbidden; in the one case because the minister could not and the congregation would not pray for the King of England, and in the other because they would not pray for the President of the United States.

Thank God the bitterness and animosities of both those periods are things of the past, and the old Church rejoices to use today a Bible given by his late Majesty King Edward VII which rests upon a lectern presented to the church by Mr. Theodore Roosevelt when he was President of the United States.

The records of the vestry of Bruton Parish which are copied into the book, dry as they may appear to casual reading, open a door into an understanding of many of the customs and the problems of the day in which they were being written. It was exciting news to the Episcopal Church in Virginia when in 1836 the vestry of Bruton Parish solemnly seceded from the diocese of Virginia and announced its determination to send neither clerical nor lay delegate to the diocesan convention until the repeal of a newly enacted section of the constitution of the diocese which forbade non-communicants of the Church to be delegates to the diocesan conventions. This would seem to us today an obviously desirable rule, but the vestry of Bruton said it was subversive of their right to govern their own parish.

It is interesting to note in the vestry records of the earliest days of Bruton Parish, when they were erecting their first church, that nearly one-fifth of the estimated cost of the building as planned in 1679 was received from the free gifts of members of the congregation over and above the amount to be raised by taxation. People do not as a rule make gifts toward the erection of a public building whose cost must be paid out of the public revenue; but certainly, in such a case as this, the free-will offerings of people who loved their church secured the erection of a handsomer and more costly building than would otherwise have been built.

Again, the note that the vestry gave permission to Col. John Page, and later to Col. Philip Ludwell to erect for themselves pews in the chancel of the church presents an interesting picture of the Church customs of the day. Plans for churches were beyond question based upon the plans of old churches standing in England. Specifications found in old vestry books show that the whole eastern end of the church building was included in the chancel. At the east end of the chancel was the Holy Table, or communion table, with a communion rail around it. The pulpit never was within the chancel, but was erected as a separate structure, usually with three reading desks, arising from the body of the church and placed against either the north or the south wall.\* The regular morning and evening services were read from the second desk, and the sermon was preached

\*The present Bruton Church, being cruciform in floor plan, follows the custom of all cruciform churches in having the pulpit placed at one of the re-entrant angles of the crossing.

from the uppermost desk. The baptismal font stood at the western door of the church.

This being the case, the area of the chancel was far larger than was needed for the celebration of the Holy Communion. And so, in order to utilize space needed for no other purpose, permission was given to parishioners of wealth and influence to erect pews for their families inside the chancel.

It is also interesting to read of the fees paid for burials within the church, both in the flagstone aisles of the body of the church, and under the floor of the chancel. Outside in the churchyard, a burial cost the family ten pounds of tobacco paid to the sexton for opening the grave, and three pounds of tobacco to the clerk for recording it in the parish register. The fee to the parson was five shillings. If a family of wealth desired the distinction of a burial within the church, the cost was five hundred pounds of tobacco, and the still greater distinction of being buried under the chancel floor, cost one thousand pounds of tobacco. Because, ecclesiastically speaking, the floor of the body of the church belonged to the people, and the chancel to the minister, the fee for a burial in the aisle of the church went to augment the parish income, while that for interment in the chancel went to the parson, and amounted to more than one-half of a month's salary.

But the most important occurrence mentioned in the old vestry records,—at least insofar as the conditions under which the Church had to struggle during the colonial period is concerned,—is the long and full account, given in the third chapter, of the contest of the vestry with the minister and the colonial authorities in regard to the question of instituting their successive ministers as rectors of the parish instead of retaining them from year to year as incumbents or ministers-in-charge. The vestries of Virginia were blamed then, and have been blamed through misunderstanding in later years, for their refusal to permit their ministers to have the full rights of rectorship, by keeping them from being officially inducted by the governor into their respective parishes. The real reason was that after a minister was inducted as rector of a parish there was no lawful way to get him out in case he proved to be morally unworthy, or fell into bad habits under the hard conditions of colonial life. The Church in Virginia had to secure ministers in any way it could, and naturally had to evolve a plan whereby a vestry could try out every minister who came in order to see if he was a worthy man, or was a failure who had been sent over by his friends in England to give him another chance. By employing a minister from year to year the vestry was enabled to try the man, to see if he could give a satisfactory account of himself, or they could quietly drop one who showed himself to be unworthy. The vestry of Bruton Parish, because of its close connections with the mother country was assured of being able to make a better selection of ministers than any other parish in Virginia, but in pursuing the course they did, of refusing to induct, they were fighting the battle of the whole Church in Virginia, and helped strongly in winning, and thus aided in maintaining a higher standard for the clergy in Virginia than would otherwise have been the case.

One may go through the whole story of the *Record of Bruton Parish Church*, and find innumerable places where one may stop to form in his mind a picture of life during the colonial period of Williamsburg, or in later years, of vicissitude or of success through which the parish has gone. The book when so used will be found to be a guide-book into the life of the earlier days.

G. MACLAREN BRYDON.

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## WILLIAM INGRAHAM KIP

*First Bishop of California*

*By Edward L. Parsons\**

VE new light! I've new light! You must go to California, but not as a presbyter," said Bishop Whittingham of Maryland to the Reverend Dr. William Ingraham Kip, rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany, New York, as they talked in the bishop's study some time during the late summer of 1852. "That was the germ of the California episcopate," says Bishop Kip in writing of "The Early Days of My Episcopate." During the previous year he had been greatly interested in the stories that came to him from California through his physician in Albany whose brother was one of the wardens of Trinity Church, San Francisco. He had felt the lure of the new land which was opening up on the west coast. "There was," he says, "a freshness and enterprise in founding the Church in that region which rather fascinated my imagination." As a result of this interest he had been seriously considering the possibility of going to San Francisco as rector of Trinity Church if that position should be offered to him. While this was on his mind and while it was as yet undecided whether Dr. Wyatt who had been already called to Trinity Church would accept, Dr. Kip had gone to Baltimore to deliver a lecture. Bishop Whittingham was an old friend. Through the bishop's interest he had been called to St. Peter's Church in Baltimore but had decided to decline the call. As he and the bishop talked, he told him of his temptation to go to California if the way opened. Like a flash the idea came to the bishop that Dr. Kip should go out to the new country as the new bishop.

Events following rapidly upon this momentous interview. In Octo-

\**Bishop of California 1924-1940.*

ber, '53, the General Convention met in New York. Bishop Whittingham acted. His suggestion seemed good. Bishop Wainwright nominated Dr. Kip. He was elected by a very large majority. The Deputies confirmed the election, as also the election of the Rev. Dr. Scott to be missionary bishop of Oregon and Washington. Bishop Kip was summoned to New York and on October 28th, St. Simon and St. Jude's Day, he was consecrated. He says in his story of the event that he was entirely surprised, that he never had any formal notice of his election, nor did he ever give any formal assent. The rather vague notion which had attracted him to California the previous year had suddenly become a reality and before he knew it he had hands laid violently upon him as it were, and found himself committed perhaps for life to a distant and almost unknown field. Two months later he, with his wife and younger son, boarded the steamer "George Law" and started their journey to California by way of the Isthmus of Panama.

The new bishop's interest in the California field must have seemed to his contemporaries a rather unexpected turn in his character. He was a scholar, not an administrator; he was a pastor, not a missionary; he was a lover of books and of the culture of the past and not a pioneer. He was obviously at forty-two years of age one of the younger men to whom the Church looked as at the beginning of a distinguished career. He was already more than a coming man. He had arrived, but no one would have been likely to think of him in the habit and spirit of an adventurer, a breaker of new paths. If there were an aristocracy in the America of that day he belonged to it. But under the courtly and dignified exterior there was something of the spirit which had made his ancestor in the 16th century, Ruloff de Kype of Brittany, a fighting partisan of the Guises during the French civil wars. This particular ancestor, driven out of France, fled to the Low Countries, later joined the army of the Duke D'Anjou and fell in battle. His son settled at Amsterdam and became a Protestant. His grandson was interested in the efforts to find a northeast passage to the Indies and was one of the promoters of Henry Hudson's famous voyage. He came to America, returned later to Holland, but his sons remained in the new world and became well known citizens of New York. Kip Bay at the foot of 35th Street on the East River was named from the family home and farm which fronted upon it. It was here that the British landed when after the battle of Long Island they moved to attack and occupy New York.

The future bishop was born in New York on October 3, 1811. He graduated at Yale in the class of 1831, at first planned to be a lawyer,

afterward turned to the ministry. He spent two years at the Virginia Seminary; graduated from the General Theological Seminary in 1835; was ordained deacon June 28, 1835, by Bishop Onderdonk and priest on October 20, 1835, by Bishop Doane. On July 1st of the same year he married Maria Elizabeth, daughter of Isaac Lawrence of New York. He spent three years at St. Peter's, Morristown, New Jersey, and as assistant in Grace Church, New York. In 1838 he went to St. Peter's, Albany, and as he says in his account of his election to the episcopate, had built up there a large congregation. He was known not only as a most successful pastor and preacher but very widely through his many books. Six had appeared before his election as bishop, the most important of which was the "Double Witness of the Church" of which we shall speak later when considering his theological position.

It was undoubtedly the spirit of those early Bretons, vigorous partisans, adventurers, coupled with something of the imagination of a poet which led Dr. Kip to feel the lure of California. Indeed as one looks back upon those early days one notes the great number of young men to whom every kind of opportunity for position and leadership in the older states was open, but who felt the lure of the new land. It was not only the gold. It was, as Dr. Kip had said, "the freshness and enterprise" of an entirely new world.

So he started for California. But before we follow his voyage and the beginning of his work in that distant field, it is important to note the curious and perhaps unprecedented technical ecclesiastical question which arose in connection with his election. California was never a Territory. It lived under a military regime during the first year or two after the American occupation, but when its citizens began to organize their government they did not look to Washington to do it for them. They adopted a constitution and then asked Congress to admit them as a state. Congress assented and California was admitted to the Union on September 9, 1850. The Protestant Episcopal Church in California had something of the same history. It was very weak, very small, but it organized as a diocese without attempting to establish any relations with the great body of the Church in the East. Trinity Church had been organized in 1849 with the Reverend Flavel S. Mines as rector. In August of that year the Rev. Dr. J. L. Ver Mehr arrived, having been sent out by the Board of Missions in response to a petition signed by six influential churchmen of San Francisco. Mr. Mines had come in response to a call from the parish; Dr. Ver Mehr had been sent out by the Board. It was an awkward situation. There was only one parish. What was to be done? With forebearance and Christian spirit the two clergymen and the groups involved decided that

the best way out was to establish another church. Grace Church was therefore organized, accepted Dr. Ver Mehr as rector and began its work within a year after the opening of Trinity. About this time the Board of Missions in New York decided that the "mission to California having performed what could be expected, California was no more considered missionary ground." It looked as if the Church officially had decided that it had no responsibility whatever for the growing communities of California. There was much discouragement. It was then there came the idea to Mr. Mines who was at the time very ill that because there were Russian Churches on the northern California coast and in Alaska and a Russian bishop, it might be possible to get the episcopate from that Church and so to bring the Church in the new community into the unquestioned Catholic tradition. Nothing further was done about it so far as one at the present time can discover, but there is no question, as the Reverend D. O. Kelley in his "History of the Diocese of California" states, that Bishop Kip regarded the incident as having some real significance. At any rate, the question was what to do next. On July 24, 1850, a convention was held in Trinity Church, San Francisco, at which six clergymen (for by that time other young men had apparently felt the call of the West) were present and the convention proceeded to organize as a diocese. The canons which it adopted were declared to be "for the government of the Church in California." No mention whatever was made of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. No pledge of allegiance to its constitution and canons was therefore included. The diocese, like the state, was launched by men who felt responsibility and were willing to take it. The welfare of the Church was on their hearts. They did not wait to be subsidized. They went to work. After adopting some essential canons, electing a Standing Committee and providing for various diocesan institutions, most of which never came into being, they proceeded on August 2nd to elect a bishop. Dr. Ver Mehr received two votes, Mr. Mines one. Bishop Horatio Southgate who had been missionary bishop for the Episcopal Church in Constantinople and the Near East, was elected. He had resigned from that field and presumably some of the members of the California Convention thought that he might be willing to come to the coast. He declined, and no further action was taken during the next two years. Then as the time of the General Convention of 1853 approached, the diocese decided that application should be made for admission to union with the convention. For some reason now inexplicable, after electing the usual four clerical and four lay deputies, the convention decided to reconsider and annul the election of the clergy. The four laymen continued

as deputies. Two presented themselves in New York but were not recognized because the diocese had not fulfilled the necessary requirements.

Thus when the question of electing a missionary bishop came before the convention it was really a question. The proposal meant that General Convention would send a missionary bishop to take charge of a group of churches which had already organized themselves as a diocese and which had undertaken responsibility for their own support. There seems to have been an amazing lack of intelligent dealing with the situation. It is true that California was far away, but after all, it took only about six weeks to get mail by way of the Isthmus. It would seem that if the matter had been handled by the Board of Missions in New York with any adequate appreciation of what was at stake there need have been no difficulty. On the other hand, it is clear that the Californians must have felt, and perhaps quite properly felt, that they had been ignored and in a sense repudiated by the Church. Inadequate understanding on the one hand and the natural sequence of isolation on the other brought about a tangled situation which in the end was solved by the tact and Christian spirit of the newly elected bishop. Perhaps one might reflect further upon the whole situation and note that there was no one in authority really responsible for the policies of the Protestant Episcopal Church. A group of bishops, thirty or more at that time, could hardly be an effective executive committee. The presiding bishop was only a presiding bishop. The Board of Missions had moral responsibility but no authority.

But whatever factors entered in and whoever may have been most responsible for the situation, it was at best a singular one. The Episcopal Church in California had organized itself into a diocese. It had simply called itself the Church. It had acted completely independently of any larger body of its own communion. On the other hand, that national body which was ultimately responsible for work within the boundaries of the nation had elected a missionary bishop, was providing him with a missionary bishop's salary and was sending him out without having had the slightest indication from the churches in California that they would welcome him. Indeed it is interesting to note that the new bishop sailed on December 20th, 1853, from New York without ever having any communication whatsoever officially with the people to whom he was going. He did not know whether he would be welcome. He did not know what would happen. He must have been concerned as to whether he might not find on his arrival that the organized diocese had no intention whatever of accepting his supervision.

The bishop gives a most interesting account in his book "The

Early Days of My Episcopate" which, although written in 1859 and 1860, was not published until 1891, of his journey to California. Presumably it differed not at all from that of many others, but as one reads the story one is taken back in imagination very easily to the real hardships which even the shortest route to California, that by way of the Isthmus, involved. On the "George Law" there were 700 passengers, the majority of them as the bishop says "a very rough set." The ship would normally have held only half that number. There were storms; there was inadequate food; there were unpleasant acquaintances. As they neared the Isthmus the sea was calm. The heat became intense. Christmas came, a very hot day with a perfectly calm sea, a new kind of Christmas for most of the voyagers. The bishop held service as he had on the previous Sunday. Many of those who were in the congregation were going out to work on the Panama Railroad and that meant that in a few months probably half of them would have died. It is rather typical of the change in what we might call theological atmosphere that the bishop in telling the story of this service and commenting upon the dangers of the climate and the certainty of death coming to many, adds: "I pressed on them the contingency as fully as I could." There was an interesting stop at Kingston, Jamaica, during which the bishop visited Bishop Spencer and at last after nine days they came to Aspinwall. The trip across the Isthmus, partly by rail, partly by mule, was most uncomfortable. The inn at Cruces where the party had to spend the night was over-crowded with all kinds of vicious and unpleasant people. There was no privacy, little to eat, and no cleanliness. During the following day in which the journey was made on mules the bishop became separated from the party, his native guide deserted him and going back, met Mrs. Kip who, recognizing him, asked what had happened to the bishop. The native calmly told her that the bishop had been murdered! Fortunately he turned up before anxiety had continued too long.

There was a tiresome wait at Panama. They boarded the steamer "Golden Gate" at last and started off up the west coast. Somewhere off the coast of Lower California one of the engine shafts broke and there was a long delay. Food and water had to be rationed before they finally got going again. As they were coming out from San Diego harbor, in seeking to avoid an incoming steamer, they were swept by the tide ashore. The steamer could not be pulled off; they had to change to another for the rest of the voyage.

Any anxiety which the bishop may have had about what would happen upon his arrival in San Francisco was dissipated at once. He arrived on Sunday morning, January 29th, 1854, was met by a group of

Church people and immediately taken to Trinity Church where he officiated and preached. In the evening he preached at Grace Church and it became apparent that the diocese would be prepared to accept the situation and to regularize it in their personal relations with the bishop if not by official action. The bishop himself apparently never raised the question officially. For three years the diocese accepted him as their bishop and looked to him for all episcopal acts. In the convention of May, 1854, the situation was recognized and resolutions adopted which recorded the attitude of the diocese in relation to the whole matter :

“Whereas, this Convention at its session in May, 1853, adopted measures to obtain an Episcopal Visitation of the Diocese of California, by some one of the Bishops of Dioceses in union with the General Convention, under the supposition that California, being an organized Diocese, was precluded from the privilege of having a Missionary Bishop placed in charge over her. And whereas the General Convention, at its session in October, 1853, judged it to be canonical and expedient to send a Missionary Bishop to the Diocese, Therefore,

RESOLVED: That this Convention desires to express its devout thankfulness to the over-ruling Providence of Almighty God, and its very cordial satisfaction that this Diocese has thus so soon been permitted to enjoy the benefit and consolation of a Bishop’s care.

RESOLVED: That this Convention eagerly embraces this first opportunity to express its hearty approval of the action of the Standing Committee as the representative of the Diocese, in promptly receiving the Right Reverend Wm. Ingraham Kip, D. D., Missionary Bishop to the Diocese of California, with a reverent and affectionate welcome, to be the Shepherd of the sheep in this portion of Christ’s fold, and our beloved Father in God.”

This arrangement continued whereby the missionary bishop sent out by General Convention acted as bishop of an organized diocese until 1857. On February 5th of that year a special convention of the “Protestant Episcopal Church of California” was held in Grace Church, Sacramento. Nine presbyters entitled to vote and representatives of nine parishes were present. A committee appointed after the organization of the convention reported that the diocese had met the requirements of the constitution and canons of General Convention and was entitled to elect its bishop. They reported that in their judgment an election was expedient at that time. Indeed every one must have known in advance that they would so report, the convention having been called

for the express purpose of electing a bishop. These resolutions having been adopted unanimously, they proceeded to the election. The minutes read: "The Reverend Dr. Hatch then nominated for election as bishop of the diocese the Right Reverend William Ingraham Kip, D. D. After prayer, the roll was called and the ballots deposited. . . . Bishop Kip was elected unanimously." The bishop, who had of course not been present during these proceedings, was sent for, returned and expressed his appreciation of the action. He had already made plans to return to the East for several months and asked that his decision to accept or decline the call might be deferred. He left in April and in August forwarded to the committee his acceptance of the position of bishop of the diocese. In those days no provision had been made for the resignation or retirement of a diocesan bishop. The factors in the decision which he had to make had to do not only with the opportunity for his ministry but also the question of whether he was ready to commit himself for life to residence and work in California. As a missionary bishop it would still have been possible for him to resign and take other work had he felt he was not succeeding in California. He made the decision however and returned to California in December of that year as bishop of the diocese.

While this sketch is not an abridged history of the diocese but rather a portrait of the first bishop, his life and that of the diocese were woven inextricably together. We try to see him in the light of his task, to follow him in his ways of work and to note the achievements of his leadership. His task was essentially missionary. He came to California as a missionary bishop; he stayed as bishop of a diocese; but the state organized as a diocese was really only a vast missionary area, most of it unsettled, half the settlements boom towns, half the people adventurers, swarming over the land in search of gold, reckless, lawless, drawn from over the world. In they came, rushed to the mines, made money, lost money, gambled, drank. So it looked on the surface. But fortunately for California among them were many able young men who, once here, settled down, became the substantial citizens of the future.

In Sacramento and San Francisco they organized business, opened stores and banks. In the country they settled on ranches, turned to cattle and grain, oftentimes (it is perhaps necessary to record) dispossessing the earlier Mexican inhabitants with slight regard for justice and decency. "When the Gringo came" meant to the happy-go-lucky casual pleasure-loving people of Spanish inheritance a period of real suffering, of rank injustice, of ruthless despoilment—all the kinds of things we like to keep out of our school histories. Spanish culture

was soon driven out. The newcomers had little but scorn for it. In the South where it lingered longer, the Gringo ultimately controlled and today except for our picturesque place names and the crumbling ruins of the missions, now happily being restored, there is nothing to recall the earlier culture. Even the Roman Church which nominally carries on the tradition is probably as Irish as anywhere in America.

Into this chaotic society the bishop came. His missionary work falls into three periods. The first is the brief three years before he was elected diocesan. The second runs from 1857 to 1874 when Northern California was set off as a missionary district, and the third to the coming of Bishop Nichols in 1890.

In the "Early Days of My Episcopate" Bishop Kip tells of his first years, of the first services and of his experiences in going about the state. His diocese was over 800 miles long and anywhere from 200 to 250 miles wide. The state was mountains, valleys, rivers. In vast areas there were no people save here and there a small group of Indians.

The bishop after settling in San Francisco, turned first to Sacramento and the mining districts. The vestry of the Church in Sacramento had invited him to become their rector. He wisely decided that he should make his permanent home in San Francisco. The invitation from Sacramento however and the preponderating importance of the mining interests took him north and east on his first missionary journeys. Within three weeks he had visited Sacramento, a twenty hours' journey by boat. Later in the spring he visited Stockton, then Marysville and the mining districts. Everywhere there was the same story,—a feverish gold seeking crowd, but a smaller group of men who wished to keep their religion alive. Congregations were organized, sometimes lived, sometimes died. Clergy came and went. Sometimes they could not stay for lack of support. Sometimes they belonged to the wanderer class. Many were utterly unreliable and the bishop had no way of checking upon their characters. Valiantly he tried to meet these conditions, going himself to the more important places when possible. "I went to Stockton (80 or 90 miles by boat) a few weeks ago to perform the marriage service and again last week to spend Sunday. Until a rector arrives the only way of keeping the Church alive is by services of this kind," he writes in June, 1854.

Just before that he had visited San Jose for the first time, a 50 mile trip by stage. In midsummer he made his first visit to Monterey, going by boat down the coast. In that old town the Spanish tradition still lingered. It was peaceful, quiet, beautiful. In the court room in Colton Hall he held a service while the mission bells were summoning the Mexicans to the "Romish" mass. Another year passed

before he went further south. In October, 1855, he took the steamer. They touched at Monterey, spent two days in Santa Barbara and landed after another day at San Pedro, the port of Los Angeles. This was eighteen months after he had first arrived in California and touched the south at San Diego. One reason for his delay, he says, was the unsettled state of the country rendering it "unsafe to travel except with a party thoroughly armed." He held services in the little town of Los Angeles, hoped a church might be started and ends his account of the visit by quoting:

"Every prospect pleases,  
And only man is vile."

His return journey was with military escort, over the mountains into the San Joaquin Valley. Bears, bandits, heat, a stop at Fort Tejon, a service at Fort Miller (Millerton) and so on up the great valley to San Francisco. The service at Millerton was the first in the present missionary district of San Joaquin. The military escort over the mountains is one illustration of the frequent and intimate associations of the bishop with the army. At all the army posts scattered over the state there were officers interested in maintaining the services of the Church. Many of them were willing to serve as lay readers. In some cases as e. g. at Benicia, the army post became a real missionary center. Indeed without the help of devoted laymen he could have done little; but there were many such. They started churches. They served as lay readers and as wardens. On them the bishop depended to guide him as he visited these unknown towns, so strangely different from those he had known at home.

So passed the first three years of the bishop's work. He had visited many of the areas of his great diocese. He had seen a few parishes grow to stability. The clergy had increased to ten; the communicants to 599.

In 1857 as already noted he was elected bishop and accepted in August while in the East. There was no proper agreement about his salary and it seems clear in retrospect that the diocese, knowing he was not dependent upon it for support, did what dioceses and parishes have sometimes done elsewhere, passed a brave resolution and hoped for the best. In 1859 it was fixed at \$3,000; in 1868 at \$6,000. In 1872 the diocese was \$20,000 in arrears. In 1877 the whole matter was settled by the payment of \$7,500.

The second period of the bishop's work runs from his election as diocesan in 1857 to the division of the diocese by the erection of the missionary district in Northern California, now the diocese of Sacra-

mento, in 1874. During these sixteen years the work of the Church increased steadily. Communicants grew to 3,000 and clergy to 55.

Conditions of life in spite of the Civil War became more stabilized. The railroad crossed the mountains in 1869; and began to creep down the valleys to the south. Just at the beginning of the next period in the centennial year it reached Los Angeles. Roads and boats were better. In 1870 the Church had gone north to Eureka, 300 miles up the Coast. In 1864 there came urgent appeals to start work in Los Angeles. The Protestants there were living what the bishop called a "life of heathenism." In '65 he made his second visit. The Rev. Elias Birdsall was in charge of the work and from that time on there was steady growth throughout that area.

It was at this time that the bishop's longest absence from his diocese occurred. From the Atlantic Coast he went on to Europe and there was detained for months by the illness of a member of his family. Absent in Europe for most of the early part of 1865, he returned to America in time to attend the General Convention in Philadelphia.

If during these sixteen years there was much to encourage the bishop, there was much likewise to bring care. As we look back over the years the Civil War clearly stands out as the most disturbing event. The situation it created we shall consider in connection with the bishop's views on the relation of the Church to questions of public interest. The perennial source of trouble was the instability of life in these new California towns, the difficulty in getting the right kind of clergy from the East and the constant disregard of the ordinary rules of ecclesiastical procedure. Vestries called rectors without consulting the bishop. Clergy appeared and disappeared with little or no reference to the bishop. The most extraordinary instance of this kind of thing and one which illustrates the large-mindedness and Christian spirit of Bishop Kip is that of the Breck mission. The Rev. Dr. J. Lloyd Breck had done a notable work in the Church in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Nashotah and Faribault will always remember their founder. His pioneer spirit was not however satisfied. He looked to California with longing, then with purpose. He would found there another theological school, other institutions of learning, and make a center from which an associate group of missionaries would go out into the state. He gathered a party; a service of dedication and farewell was held at the Church of the Holy Communion in New York and in 1867 the party sailed for California by way of Panama. This was in October. On November 3rd they reached San Francisco. There were two priests, two deacons, five students, wives of two of the clergy, a teacher, a housekeeper and a farmer. All this was to the good, promising great help to the Episcopal

Church in California. But the illuminating fact in connection with it is that Bishop Kip had never been consulted. The whole expedition was planned without his knowledge; and "so far as can now be discovered" (I quote the Rev. D. O. Kelley's history of the diocese), "Dr. Breck's purpose even was not known to the bishop and Church in California until within a few weeks of his arrival." The bishop thought not of ecclesiastical courtesy, not of canons and authority. He put all that aside; welcomed Dr. Breck cordially, backed him in his plans, helped to raise money, gave him and his fellow clergy every opportunity to serve.

The history of the Breck mission does not belong here. It is sufficient to say that the schools at Benicia, Martinez and Sonoma County were served devotedly; but the Breck mission lives now only in the pages of the history of the diocese and the spiritual values which every devoted ministry transmits to the future.

At various times in these early days the bishop found it necessary to take charge of vacant parishes himself. Twice he served as rector of Grace Church, San Francisco. It was during his second charge of that parish that he took a step which had both a sentimental interest and a prophetic note. Becoming rector in 1861, he decided that the Church thereby becoming the bishop's Church, he would constitute it his cathedral. He did so and for many years it was popularly known as Grace Cathedral. This is said to be the first American cathedral. It certainly was one of the earliest steps in a movement which has become nation-wide. A diocese needs a church which belongs to all its people, which is not a parish church (although in America the parish aspect for financial and other reasons has had to be emphasized), a church which in a way not possible for any parish can become a symbol and center of unity. Bishop Kip thus made some slight contribution to the development of the cathedral "idea." His action had likewise an unforeseen prophetic character. After the great earthquake and fire of 1906 Bishop Nichols took the opportunity to carry out his long cherished plan to establish a real cathedral. Grace Church had been burned; its congregation scattered. The Crocker family had given the diocese the block upon which their houses had stood at the top of Nob Hill, a short distance from the site of the old church. Vestry and people agreed to transfer their property to the diocese. The new Grace Cathedral was the realization of the plan which Bishop Kip had suggested forty-five years before.

The state was growing rapidly. In 1869, as already noted, the railroad across the mountains and the plains had been completed. East and West were linked together. Bishop Kip could now reach New

York in as many days as it took him weeks in 1853. The State University had begun its work in Berkeley. Los Angeles was beginning to be known as a health center. Mining was gradually ceasing to dominate the mind of the state. The opportunities for the Church were many; but it was slow to wake to them. Bishop Kip as early as 1858 had proposed a canon constituting a missionary committee. It was to be composed of the clerical members of the Standing Committee and apparently there was a general impression in which the bishop shared that the arrangement was a success. But in fact contributions steadily decreased for five or six years following the institution of the committee. It labored under the distinct disadvantage of being composed entirely of clergy. The same lack of organization of the diocese which made it so difficult to deal with the clergy questions was apparent in the missionary field as well. Some parishes, some individuals were doing work on their own account. Indeed in the early 60's there seem to have been sums as large as three or four thousand dollars spent for missionary work not undertaken directly under the bishop and diocese. Ten years later however a real missionary committee was established. two or more convocations were organized and a more systematic policy began. It is hard to tell how far the bishop took the initiative in these matters. He certainly showed, as he did in the Breck case, a readiness to cooperate with and support any and all who were trying to further the work of the Church.

But he had not in spite of his readiness to come to a missionary field that special gift which we might call the "missionary instinct." He could not go readily into the rough and turbulent settlements making himself at home with all sorts and conditions of men. It was difficult for him to throw off the dignified reserve which made him an outstanding figure in established communities. He would give himself with unlimited devotion to any hardship, any difficult trip to which he was called; but his instinct was to wait the call, not to reach out and explore possibilities, not to gather groups and start congregations. It was thirty years after his coming to California before he had visited the large agricultural and cattle area of the Salinas River Valley which begins only one hundred miles south of San Francisco, close to the Monterey district. Dr. Restarick, afterward bishop of Honolulu, reports a remark of Bishop Kip's made in 1888 while he was present at a deanery meeting in San Diego. "The clergy talked about plans for Church extension and for the founding of missions here and there and the old bishop said, 'I cannot understand you young men. When I was rector of St. Peter's, Albany, I did my work and conducted the affairs of the parish but I did not consider it my business to go outside and found

missions.' " The remark not only throws light upon the bishop's temperament but makes clear also why from time to time he would have moments of discouragement, feeling that he was not adequate to the task which he had undertaken.

The extent of the diocese told heavily upon this strength. There were large areas which twenty years after his coming to California he had not been able to visit. Much as he disliked administration, the administration of the diocese could not be escaped. On the other hand, he could not spend all his time in the field. He knew well and visited frequently the larger centers of population, but he speaks more than once of his feeling of inability to do the work as he would wish. Finally in 1871 he proposed that the state should be divided and that in addition to the diocese of California two missionary districts should be established. This proposal, accepted by the convention of the diocese, was not accepted by General Convention. Three years later however the latter agreed to the establishment of the district of Northern California, now the diocese of Sacramento, and the Rt. Rev. J. H. D. Wingfield, titular rector of Trinity Church, San Francisco, was elected bishop. With the new district went sixteen clergy of the old diocese. The division brought instant relief to Bishop Kip. He took up the burden of the diocese with new strength and vigor.

This third period in Bishop Kip's episcopate saw continued rapid growth of the Church coincident with the rapid growth of the state. The railroad which reached Los Angeles and went on through the south in 1876 helped to make his work somewhat easier, but it was a good many years before the southern part of the state really began to grow. It was constituted one of the four convocations of the diocese in 1877. At that time there were only five parishes and missions in that part of the state, but even then some of the more far-sighted of the clergy who knew the south realized that it would not be long before the rapid growth would take place there and a new division of the diocese would probably have to take place. But even with the anticipation of future importance and the added ease of travel, the bishop was able to go south only rarely. It was nearly ten years after the northern part of the state had been set apart before the southern convocation held a meeting of any consequence at which the bishop himself was present. He was then over seventy and beginning to feel the strain of his years. It was during this period that the diocese was incorporated and that St. Luke's Hospital and other institutions of the diocese were founded and developed. The bishop constantly speaks of his interest in these growing institutions but he wisely let the responsibility rest in the hands of the laity. After 1880 we begin to

get suggestions in his addresses that his strength was decreasing. He feels the strain of the long journeys and was especially affected by the heat of the southern part of the state and the interior valleys. In 1883 he fainted during the service at San Bernardino. In that same year when he went to Los Gatos, fifty miles south of San Francisco, to consecrate the new church he was not able to carry through all the service. His eyesight was failing. In 1884 his convention address had to be read for him. But still he kept up with amazing devotion his visitations and the other duties of his office. Indeed one is amazed at the glimpses which one gets occasionally in his journal of his continued activity. He tells for example of a Sunday spent at San Jose in April, 1885, when he was seventy-four years old. He lectured to a Bible class at ten, preached and confirmed at eleven, went to Santa Clara (three or four miles away), held an afternoon service and returned to preach again at San Jose in the evening. But in spite of a devotion indicated by such a day, he was not able to fulfill the duties of his office as he desired. He began to make suggestions of the need of an assistant and in 1889 after two months of serious illness, he put the matter definitely before the Standing Committee. The Committee had no authority itself and the matter came up at the convention in May when, on the basis of "increasing infirmities of age" he asked for an assistant and the convention responded affirmatively to his request.

One of his anxieties during these latter years was due to the increasing pressure from Los Angeles. Whenever the suggestion of an assistant bishop came up it was sure to be met by agitation from the south for a new diocese. The bishop did not feel that the time had come for such action although no doubt he recognized, as did many others by that time, that ultimately there would have to be a separation of the north and south.

With the election in 1890 of the Reverend William Ford Nichols, rector of St. James Church, Philadelphia, Bishop Kip's active ministry ceased. He was then seventy-nine years old, his eyesight was almost gone and his strength was entirely unequal to the task of travelling over the vast area which still belonged to the diocese of California. He surrendered the entire administration into the hands of the assistant bishop; and retired "full of years and of honor" to spend the remaining three years of his life quietly at his home in San Francisco.

During all the years of his ministry his wife had been his constant companion and his unfailing helper. She shared with him the anxieties and hardships of the early days and the honor and affection which the diocese and community gave him in later years. When possible and particularly as he grew older she went with him on his visitation journeys

and there are still living those who recall how much he depended upon her. Indeed in the later 80's when his sight was failing, his call for "Maria, Maria" to help with this or that was familiar to all who loved him.

Mrs. Kip was herself a woman of fine Christian principle, gentle in the finest sense of the word and of strength and earnest purpose. Her charm and her social gifts made the bishop's home one to which people loved to go. He and his family were in the fine old words of the ordinal "diligent to frame and fashion" themselves "according to the doctrine of Christ." They were wholesome examples and patterns to the flock of Christ.

Neither of the bishop's sons entered the ministry; but the elder who carried his name became a well-known and honored citizen of San Francisco and his son, William Ingraham Kip III followed his grandfather's profession. He graduated from the General Theological Seminary in 1892, was the founder of the cathedral mission of the Good Samaritan in San Francisco (from which stem two notable community centers of today) and after the founding of the Church Divinity School of the Pacific became its first professor of theology. His early death in 1902 took from the Church one to whom men looked with confidence to carry on to new distinction the noble inheritance of his name.

The bishop died on April 7, 1893, and was buried in the Iona Chuchyard of Cypress Lawn Cemetery. Mrs. Kip survived him only five months.

Even in this sketch of the various happenings of a long and eventful life it becomes apparent that Bishop Kip with his love of history, his wide culture and his family traditions and inheritance would belong instinctively to the great central conservative body of his own Church. Such an anticipatory judgment is confirmed when one turns to consider his theological position, his attitude on social questions and the springs of his devotional life.

The bishop's theological position was very simple, very definite and substantially unchanged through his long life. As he grew in experience his convictions were deepened and strengthened. In the preface to the 22nd edition of his "Double Witness of the Church," he says, "The author may truly say that with the added study of years and the wider experience he has gained from himself witnessing the workings of mere Protestantism in Germany and Romanism in Italy he sees no necessity for changing any views which he formerly expressed in these pages."

That book had a history notable for one which did not pretend to be a contribution to scholarship. It was a course of parish lectures delivered in 1843 with no thought of publication. Published in response to requests, the 23rd edition appeared in 1886 when the bishop was

seventy-five years old. It is scholarly in a fine old-fashioned way, evidences wide reading, knowledge of the Fathers and clear thinking. Its title, taken from a remark of Faber's while he was still an Anglican about "those features of our Church which bear at once a double witness against Rome on the one hand and mere Protestant congregations on the other" suggests its position as that of the conservative High Churchman of the Hobart and early Oxford school.

The core of the Church's position is in the Apostolic Succession. He takes it for granted as would most other ecclesiastical contemporaries whether Episcopal or Presbyterian or Congregational, that Christians would find in the Scriptures the form and polity of the Church as Christ intended it to be. "We contend then," he says, "that in accordance with directions given by our Lord his apostles acting under the direct influence of the Holy Spirit established a Church having a ministry of three orders, which ministry has been continued by their successors down to the present time."

His discussion of the scriptural basis for episcopacy is admirably done so far as the knowledge and presuppositions of a century ago would permit; but like many another, he assumes that the apostolic origin of episcopacy having been proved, the *doctrine* of apostolic succession is likewise proved.

Equally admirable from the knowledge of his own time is his sketch of the history of episcopacy. It shows wide reading and careful thought; but the bishop himself would have been the first to point out that he made no pretense of adding any new insights in the interpretation of history or new discoveries in that field. He was putting in form sufficiently simple for popular reading the position which he believed to be that of the Episcopal Church. It is important to note however that his position ("High Church" it was called in his day) was held with an otherwise simple conservative doctrinal basis. He was in the old sense of that phrase a good prayer book churchman. He repudiates again and again "Romish errors." He is as sure that Rome is altogether wrong as he is that most of the Protestant sects have gone astray. "We are," he says in 1866, "the *only* national Church, for I feel that the Church of Rome can lay no claim to any such title. It is a mere exotic, foreign to the country, and can never be in harmony with its people or institutions." The Episcopal Church in America and its mother, the Church of England, for in those days they did not think in terms of an Anglican Communion, constitute a small group of true believers, a kind of chosen people, in the midst of vast bodies of Christians who have gone wrong. Year after year in his convention addresses and in his pastoral letters he reiterates his faith in the position of the Church. He felicitates clergy and laity upon it. He urges faithfulness. He is greatly disturbed, for

example, because of a proposal presented in General Convention to admit ministers of other Churches to our pulpits and rejoices that it was defeated. He was in a word a plain old-fashioned high churchman. One always knew exactly where to find him.

But as one reads his books and his addresses one finds two results of this theological and ecclesiastical position constantly suggested.

The bishop was essentially a humble man. In his later life he often touches on his own inadequacy. But he seemed to move about always in an atmosphere of complacency which accords ill with that humility. He was friendly of course with other Christians. He accepted the loan of their churches for services. He never questioned the Christian devotion of the best of them. But he seems always to live on a different plane. He is reserved. He possesses something the others have not. He carries over into American frontier life the English tradition about "the Church" (which indeed still makes us use "Churchman" when we mean "Episcopalian"). He had many good friends among the English bishops. It was natural that his attitude toward other Christians had something of the tone which a century ago was certainly characteristic of many of those English friends.

But there was a sad note which runs through much of his writing. He was lonely. In his "Double Witness" as well as in addresses he refers often to attacks upon the Church. It was to be sure an age when theological controversy was rife. But it is not the joy of battle to which I refer. It is a sense of loneliness.

The Episcopal Church was very small. Rome on one side, Protestantism on the other, both were far stronger. He had no such help as those among us who share his views today have in the great ecumenical and unity movements. Only a small group belonged to him and he to it. It is unfortunate that our judgment about this depends altogether on public addresses and the like. There were distinguished Christian leaders in that early San Francisco. We would greatly like to know of his relations with Starr King and Stebbins and Taylor and Scott, with Archbishop Alemany and his successors. He must have known many of them well. Perhaps we might discover that after all, he was not as lonely in his Christian leadership as some of his words imply. We do know that he stood very high in the community as a noble Christian leader.

Bishop Kip's conservatism theologically is paralleled by what in these days would be called his conservatism in regard to matters of social and community interest. During the first twelve years of his episcopate he lived through two very stirring periods,—that of the vigilance committee, a San Francisco and indirectly a California matter, and the Civil War. As one goes through his convention addresses and such sermons

as are available, a modern churchman fully alive to the responsibility of the Church in regard to the social order, is somewhat surprised at the paucity of reference to these contemporary events. The bishop belonged distinctly to that group of clergy who believe that the Church should as far as possible keep itself free from what might be called interferences in political and social matters. Even matters which were stirring a community or a nation to the depths must be touched with an aloofness which would emphasize the Church's concern for "eternal things."

The story of the vigilance committee does not need to be repeated here. It is sufficient to note that during the early '50's the vicious and lawless elements which had come in to San Francisco with the gold rush had gradually achieved control of the city government and the courts. Law enforcement seemed quite impossible. It was not only that gambling, prostitution and general lawlessness flourished, but there was no attempt made upon the part of the authorities to keep order. Crime went unpunished provided the criminal had money or pull. Ultimately the better class of citizens decided that something must be done. Entirely illegally but also entirely in accordance with the fundamental requirements of justice and right, the vigilance committee was organized, chief offenders were tried and hanged, the municipal government was cleaned up and the committee, having done its work, dropped out of sight but kept sufficiently organized to be sure that things would not slip back to their previous condition. Now it should be noted again that the proceedings of the vigilance committee were illegal and there were good people in San Francisco who did not approve of its actions. Although looking back at the situation it seems as if only one course was open to a high-minded citizen, it must be remembered that it is difficult to get the atmosphere and see the situation as the men of that day saw it. At any rate, it is quite evident that the bishop and the clergy of the Episcopal Church refrained altogether from taking any part or supporting any side. Perhaps the best expression of the attitude of the bishop, and an attitude which evidently the clergy shared, is found in his address to the diocesan convention of 1857. He says:

"There is one other point on which I would say a few words. Peculiar circumstances during the past season have given the Church the opportunity to demonstrate to the community its unworldly character; that guided by the instructions of Him who declared: 'My Kingdom is not of this world!' it goes on its quiet way, doing the work which its Lord had marked out for it, and uninfluenced by the strifes which may be raging around it. A local difficulty occurring in San Francisco during the last spring, spread its influence through the State, till everywhere men's minds were for months wrought up to the highest point of excitement, and which has hardly yet

entirely ended. Simultaneously with this was our political election, which probably enlisted more interest in this State than in any other, from the sectional bearing it displayed, and from the fact that here alone citizens of the North and South live side by side.

From all these excitements the Church alone stood aloof. Its ministers contented themselves with doing their Master's work, and inculcating the truth that their duty was to preach the Gospel—that 'thereunto were they called'—not to carry into God's House the engrossing topics of this world, but rather on the day of holy rest to remind their hearers that all these things must pass away, while for us Eternity is waiting. On no one act of any one of your number has the gainsayer been able to fasten to throw discredit on your holy calling. When urged to take part in these exciting topics—as all of you at times have been—your conduct has shown the same spirit which actuated Nehemiah when his answer was: 'I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down.'

The bishop goes on to say that he finds approval of this position wherever he goes; that men in the cities, mountains and the mines "pay their tribute of respect to the Church because she takes no part in the passing excitements of the day but deals only with those great truths which will survive long after this earth and the things thereof have passed away." Keeping the minds of the people upon these eternal things meant of course a constant emphasis upon matters of personal morality. The bishop dealt with those effectively and with great dignity and earnestness. There is a notable pastoral letter to the people of the diocese in which he lays before them the claims of Sunday observance, reminds them of the effects of late Saturday night dances upon Church attendance and emphasizes the place of worship.

This attitude is very apparent during the years of the Civil War. It must be remembered however that the Episcopal Church here in California was in a singularly difficult position. Starr King, the great Unitarian minister, is one of the two men whom California has put in the national Hall of Fame in the Capitol at Washington. The other is Junipero Serra, the great Franciscan missionary. It is perhaps not without interest that a state hardly famed for its piety counts two ministers of Christ as its two most famous citizens. Now Starr King's fame in California rests primarily upon the fact that his influence, more perhaps than that of any other, kept California within the Union. But Starr King had behind him a congregation of New England Unitarians. The situation in the Episcopal Church was quite different. There was a large group of Southerners. It included some of the most influential Church people. Indeed I believe it was common gossip that Grace Church, San Francisco, was practically a congregation of Southerners.

It would be incumbent upon the bishop therefore to endeavor to hold together in the Church the two opposing groups. And obviously that would mean that he must use the utmost care in the expression of his own views. If he should state the Northern view which he himself accepted, and proclaim it as being the position of the Church, the result might be disastrous. It was a delicate situation. Even a Starr King would have had to think twice before he entered the battle line. All that lay in the background and must be remembered when one notes the position which the bishop took. It must have been a make-weight. At the same time the principle which guided him in his action, so far as he understood it and expressed it himself, takes only indirect account of the divided California Episcopalians. He puts it all very clearly in commenting upon the General Convention of 1865 when the Southern bishops came to the Philadelphia General Convention and thus proclaimed that the unity of the Church had not been permanently broken. Here is the bishop's statement of the principle which he believed involved.

"It is difficult for the outside world to understand the principles on which the Convention acted. The grand controlling idea was, that we were purely an ecclesiastical body—that we met to legislate only for the interests of the Gospel and the Church—and that here at least we had nothing to do with the political differences which for years past have separated those of the same household of faith. The 'slavery' with which we had most to do, in the Council of the Church, was the bondage of men to this sinful world—the 'loyalty' which we most profess, when gathered before the altar of our Lord, was our allegiance to the Great Head of the Church."

It may be seriously questioned as to whether that was the principle upon which the Convention acted, or whether most of the Northern bishops would have thought that their religion had nothing to do with the question of slavery in the South. Certainly Bishop McIlvaine and many another worked hard for the Union cause. But the quotation illustrates, as did the bishop's comment upon the vigilance committee, his matured conception of the relation of the Church to the social order. We may not agree with him, but he held it with dignity and courage and in devotion to the highest principles of the Christian life.

When we turn from theology and social matters to those more especially devotional and religious we find the bishop at his best. Through the story of his early episcopate and in all his books we are conscious of a warm devoted Christian spirit. He held the highest ideals of personal conduct. His addresses abound with pleas to his people to be alive to their responsibility. He cherished the observances

of the Church and found in them deepest satisfaction. One of his early books, "The Lenten Fast," lays great stress upon the value of these observances. "The Church it is true in those services offers us no excitement," he said,—"Her aim is to instruct us in a sober constant and Christian piety. She employs no spiritual whirlwind now and then to sweep over her . . . neither does she present us with any novelties." That kind of Christian piety is the very core of the bishop's own religious life. If it seems far from the present day cry for new methods, for novelties to attract, to hold our young people, to inspire our campaigns, perhaps it is well to remind ourselves that it is this kind of sober piety which really keeps the Church going, and that would be true likewise if we mean not only the Episcopal Church but the universal Church of Christ throughout the world. The bishop would not have found himself much at home in a present day clergy conference; but in these deeper things of sober Christian piety he was never wanting. I speak advisedly about "present clergy conferences" for it was precisely in that aspect of his life as a bishop that he felt himself peculiarly lacking. He always (so the story goes) dreaded having to preside at convention. He had no aptitude for organization and administration. Handsome, over six feet in height, he moved with distinguished dignity everywhere. He was a man who *counted*. These natural qualities, backed by the depth of his religious convictions, were broadened by his wide culture. He was scholar, reader, writer, acquainted with all the best of the past which is perhaps the very note of real culture. He was also an eager traveller and had come to know at first hand much of the riches of Europe's past. One of his early books tells of "The Christmas Holydays in Rome"; another of "The Church in the Catacombs." He was fortunate in having private means sufficient not only to get along in spite of the shortcomings already noted of the diocese in paying his salary, but also to take the long and expensive journey East when it seemed necessary and to cross the ocean several times. The record of these trips to Europe in his journal is most unsatisfactory and there appear to be no letters extant. He had many friends among the English bishops as various portraits attest. Everywhere he went he must have known distinguished people. He was that kind of a person. He would himself have brought distinction to any group. This touch with an older society must have gratified a mind so keenly interested in the story of the past. He was historically minded. It showed in his theology, in his interest in his own family's ancestry, in his books. His life in Albany had turned his attention to the work of the Jesuit missionaries in Canada and one of his early books tells their story.

He was well known as an author. I have already spoken of the wide and continued sale of the "Double Witness," one of the best

sellers which the Episcopal church has known. His devotional books included one on "The Lenten Fast" to which allusion has been made, and another with the unusual title of "Unnoticed Things of Scripture." In addition to books dealing with history already mentioned, he added to the "Early Jesuit Missions in North America" another on "Historical Scenes in The Old Jesuit Missions." He wrote of the "Early Conflicts of Christianity" and of "New York in the Olden Time." The "Double Witness of the Church" went through twenty-three editions in this country and was printed in Europe as well. The "Lenten Fast," twelve editions, and the "Unnoticed Things of Scripture" four. His distinction as writer and scholar came long before he was bishop. In 1847 Columbia gave him the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology. Later on in 1872 when he had reached further distinction in his episcopate his alma mater, Yale, gave him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

As one goes over the story of his life there grows before one's mind the portrait of a great gentleman, a noble Christian character, patient in dealing with difficulties, wise in his touch upon the lives of his people, humble in spirit before the Lord. Under his wise guidance the Episcopal Church in California grew steadily in numbers and influence; but the largest contribution which he made to it was the impress of fine devotion, of high ideals, of nobility of purpose, of undaunted courage. No one has summed this up better than his successor Bishop Nichols in the memorial sermon preached at the first convention of the diocese after his death. His words serve admirably to close this brief sketch of a distinguished and noble Christian leader:

"His commanding physique, his serene and gracious bearing, the simplicity of his force and the force of his simplicity, the charm of his companionship, his quiet sense of humor, his dignity, never off its guard, his high-mindedness, always the more conspicuous in its elevation when littleness of any sort chanced to confront it, as in the photograph you understand the better the height of the cathedral from the smaller object by it—these and many other features linger fondly in the memory."

## THE AFRICAN IMMIGRANT IN COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE

*By Frank J. Klingberg\**

THE varied folk migrating into Pennsylvania found spacious, rich land preeminently suited for the white man's economic life in the same providential way that the British Isles were hospitable to human beings. The climate was congenial not only to man but to his necessary allies of animals and plants. Horses, cattle and sheep, vegetables, fruits and grains, developed in Europe for centuries, immediately were at home and flourished. The fine port of Philadelphia was within easy marketing distance and gave ready maritime contact with the western colonial world and Europe. The Negro, not here as necessary as in the rice and sugar kingdoms, was nevertheless present and undertook his share in the making of this great Commonwealth. It may be noted that even in England, in 1772, there were 15,000 Negro slaves, a fact illustrative of the wide distribution of the black man into temperate regions. Dr. Samuel Johnson, it is often recalled, provided in his will for his Negro servant.

It is interesting to discover the fate of the Negro in colonial Pennsylvania because of his continuous activity there, from the beginning. The Indian's story, in Pennsylvania as elsewhere, has been under the constant scrutiny of scholars, because the Indian record has been one of conflict, and resounds with the noise of battle and massacre, the disputations of land-grabbing, and the traders' sharp clashes in the exchange of whiskey and furs.<sup>1</sup> The Negro's story is the quiet narrative of peaceful pursuits, and of his own ready adaptation into the white man's society. The Negro had left his African homeland and, like the white immigrant, he had to build a new life for himself in America. The Indian, in contrast, was fighting a bitter rear guard action to preserve his forests and fields for hunting and farming. The Negro had lost everything, arriving stripped of all his possessions. The Indian still had his continent to lose.

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<sup>1</sup>For a recent study of the Indians of Colonial Pennsylvania, see Frank J. Klingberg, "The Anglican Minority in Colonial Pennsylvania, with Particular Reference to the Indian," in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. LXV (July, 1941), pp. 276-299.

The steady integration of the Negro into the white man's destiny in the mastery of a new land, in contrast with the rapid movement of the Indian over the horizon into the West, is, of course, only in part explained by the facts just stated. The Negro, whether an indentured servant, a slave, or a freeman, in his Americanization processes had much in common with the immigrants from Europe. As a pioneer builder of America, he, too, has had to adapt his trans-Atlantic way of life to the ever-changing American scene of farm, plantation, factory.

A friendly observer of the Negro and a power in his Americanization was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,<sup>2</sup> not only commissioned by its founders to the task of Christianization and civilization of the race,<sup>3</sup> but also intensely interested in this work by the receptivity of the Negro compared with the haughty temper of the Indian. This ready cooperation of the Negro, which made him a good pupil but also made him a good slave, was the essence of the problem. His usual status was that of slave, but constant examples of manumission pointed the road to eventual freedom. Thus the planter was uncertain of his property, and might well be alarmed that baptism and the other religious rites, would hasten the loss of his

<sup>2</sup>Hereinafter referred to as the *Society, or the S. P. G.*

<sup>3</sup>Definite instructions in regard to Christianization and education of the Negroes, Indians, and Whites in the colonies, were formulated and sent to all missionaries by the secretary of the Society. The earliest instructions can be found in David Humphreys, *Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London: 1730), pp. 23, 231-275; C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* (London: 1901), Vol. II, pp. 836-848; *Journals of the S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), especially Volumes I and II, parts 1 and 2. *The Instructions from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to their Missionaries in North America* (London: 1756), is at Huntington Library. See also Frederick Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina* (Charleston: 1820), for "Extracts from the Instructions for the Clergy Employed by the Society . . ." (pp. 43-47), "Directions to the Catechists for Instructing Indians, Negroes, etc. . ." (pp. 47-50), and "Pastoral Letter to the Masters and Mistresses of Families in the English Plantations abroad; Exhorting them to encourage and promote the Instruction of their Negroes in the Christian Faith" (pp. 104-112). The last, written on May 19, 1727, by Dr. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, was used continually by the missionaries. Ten thousand copies of the letter were printed by the S. P. G. and dispersed throughout the colonies. See also Alfred W. Newcombe, "The Appointment and Instruction of the S. P. G. Missionaries," in *Church History*, Vol. V (December, 1936), pp. 340-358; Faith Vibert, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: Its Work for the Negroes in North America Before 1783," in *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XVIII (April, 1933), pp. 171-212, especially note "The General Policy of the Society," pp. 184-192. An analysis of the humanitarian and other ideas contained in the Annual Sermons preached before the Society in London, representing the continuous pressure from the home front, is contained in Frank J. Klingberg, *Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York* (Philadelphia: 1940), pp. 11-48, which also contains three notable sermons printed in full; that of Bishop Fleetwood in 1711, of Bishop Secker in 1741, and of Bishop Warburton in 1766, pp. 197-249. The Sermon was often printed with the Abstracts of Proceedings for the previous year, and an almost complete file of these valuable works, beginning in 1701, can be found in the Huntington Library and the Library of Congress.

laborer. The missionary, therefore, carried on his activity cautiously in an atmosphere where his client was swinging between the status of property and that of person.<sup>4</sup>

The part of the sturdy Negro then, was to increase with the general growth of American population, forming today, and throughout our history, about one-tenth of the population of the United States, the only group in such constant proportion. Pennsylvania, as a border line state, was not destined to have a large Negro population during colonial times in comparison with as near a neighbor as Virginia, for example. But, in humanitarian history, the importance of the Negro was not determined by numbers alone, but rather in the emergence of new policies, often worked out most satisfactorily where the enslaved class was a small minority, rather than where it was in the majority, as in Jamaica, in Barbados, or in South Carolina.<sup>5</sup>

The S. P. G. records here, as in other colonies, contribute many exact items as to the social status of persons and the development of communities. They supply answers not merely on the numbers but also on the character of the colonial population. Edward Raymond Turner found that it was impossible to obtain completely reliable information on the number of Negroes in colonial Pennsylvania. He estimated that there were probably 1,000 or more in 1700; 2,500 in 1725; 6,000 about 1750; and possibly 10,000 in 1780. There were 10,274 blacks in Penn-

<sup>4</sup>For a discussion of the legal points involved, see Wilbert E. Moore, "Slave Law and the Social Structure," in *The Journal of Negro History*, XXVI (April, 1941), pp. 171-202, especially pp. 191-202 under the heading, "The Basic Issue: Person or Property?" Citing from court records, the author shows how often fine legal distinctions were necessary. "The peculiarities of the situation," he says (p. 198), "are . . . illustrated by the fact that slaves were recognized as persons who might run away, or commit capital crimes, but if killed in capture or executed by law, provision was made for reimbursing the master for the loss of his property." Edward Raymond Turner, in "Slavery in Colonial Pennsylvania," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXXV (April, 1911), p. 144, wrote on baptism as follows: "Some things that the legislators might have been expected to deal with they always left unnoticed. They never stated the consequences of slave baptism. In some places it was believed that baptism would make a slave free, since it was sinful to hold a Christian in bondage; and accordingly it was considered necessary to make specific declaration that such was not the consequence." A present day authority on religious history, the Rev. Edgar L. Pennington, stated in an address delivered in Cape Charles, Virginia, October, 1937, on "The Literary Productions of Colonial Virginia Clergymen": "There was the fear on the part of the masters lest baptizing the slaves would automatically result in their freedom. This sordid consideration was found throughout the colonies; and statutes were passed by several colonial legislatures, assuring the masters that baptism would not emancipate the slaves. Even then a certain apprehensiveness persisted; and it was difficult for the minister to secure the master's consent to the religious instruction of these benighted subjects." For the Yorke and Talbot decision, in 1729, regarding the freedom of slaves and baptism, see H. L. Catterall, *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (Washington, D. C., 1926), Vol. I, pp. 3-5, and Frank J. Klingberg, *The Anti-Slavery Movement in England* (New Haven, 1926), pp. 37-39.

<sup>5</sup>Frank J. Klingberg, *An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina, A Study in Americanization* (Washington, 1941), *passim*.

sylvania in 1790 when the Federal Government took the first census.<sup>6</sup>

The very first missionaries had to evaluate Negro capacity and secure white cooperation in carrying out the program of Christianization and education. And they had to work in frontier communities where the religious and other social institutions were still in the throes of formation. An early letter from the Rev. Thomas Jenkins, whose death occurred in 1709 "of a calenture caused by the Musketos," is a postscript commentary on the hazards of missionary life which he outlined and also a masterly description of the community into which the Negro had to adapt himself.<sup>7</sup>

This notable letter, 2,000 words or more in length with its valuable and intimate comments on the folk, the factions, and the living habits of early Pennsylvania, is also an unconscious reflection of the bewilderment usually experienced by the Anglican missionary on his entry into the New World. Armed with books and tracts, carefully trained for his duties in language, doctrine, and tradition, often a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, the representative of the S. P. G. found adaptation into the frontier communities more difficult than did the Presbyterian, Baptist, or Quaker, who was, himself, one of the people. The breath of the New World brought intellectual and physical mobility, and released the restraints of a more rigid and compact society.<sup>8</sup> Familiar with

<sup>6</sup>Edward Raymond Turner, "Slavery in Colonial Pennsylvania" in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXXV (April, 1911), p. 143. Turner stated that these figures are merely conjectures, but based upon a great deal of investigation. See also Robert Weyman to the Society, London, August 3, 1728, (*The Memorial of their lately arrived Missionary from Pennsylvania in America*) in William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, Vol. II, p. 165. The Rev. Mr. Weyman wrote in his Memorial, "It is not easy to enumerate Negro Slaves in this Country, considering their distance and the remoteness of their Situation. Neither is there any due care taken hitherto for their Instruction; and I have often pressed the necessity & duty of it upon their masters and offer'd my Service to instruct them in principles of Christian Religion; and to prepare them for Baptism, and could never prevail but with one Family at Oxon and another at Radnor to bring them to Church." Weyman says Oxon was 9 miles from Philadelphia; Radnor 16 miles. Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932), pp. 114-115, give 2,500 in 1715; 11,000 in 1754.

<sup>7</sup>Thomas Jenkins to Secretary, New Castle, Pennsylvania, August 26, 1708, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 4, No. LXIII. This letter will appear in a later study.

<sup>8</sup>Jenkins removed from Appoquinimink to New Castle, Delaware, with the apparent sanction of Col. Quary, Judge of the Court of Admiralty and a leading church party man, and also with that of the colonial governor, but without that of his superior, the bishop of London. He was the subject of voluminous correspondence. His appointment to Appoquinimink, made at the request of the inhabitants, had been certified by the bishop of London, and the Society held that removal from that charge could not be made by the minister without permission from the bishop. Handicapped by time and distance, such transfers, however reasonable they might appear, were possible only with proper ecclesiastical sanction from London, according to the practice of the Society. The consequent lack of mobility, a handicap in meeting the competition of the more flexible organization of Dissenters, was a constant Anglican handicap, and was used as a chief argument in favor of a colonial bishop on the scene.

the more aristocratic English regime, or caste society, which fitted the parson into a more established role, the English-born Anglican had to adjust himself to frontier conditions. Here that hearty equality prevailed, which Sir James Barrie described in his play, *The Admirable Crichton*. Jenkins's protest that Captain Cantwell's house "was so small that he cou'd afford me no retired room to myself," is a measure not only of the missionary's expectations, but of the position which the colonials themselves were unconsciously carving for their clergymen, regardless of creed or sect.

Jenkins had been preceded into the field by the Rev. Thomas Crawford, who began his work at Dover, Delaware, in 1704, and by the Rev. George Ross, who arrived at New Castle, Delaware, in 1705.<sup>9</sup> Both of these men, according to the explicit commission of the Society, had proceeded immediately with the work among the Negroes in the community. Crawford wrote to the Society in 1708, that "As for the Negroes I have been at pains, for I sometimes at the Church porch teach 'em the principles of Religion, tho' many are very dull; and when I am not employed I catechize the children."<sup>10</sup> In 1712, three Negro baptisms were reported by the Rev. George Ross. The Negroes were making good progress in Christian knowledge and these three were examined several times in the presence of the congregation before they were admitted into the Church on Easter Day. In the words of Mr. Ross,

They are good livers and one of them is so well acquainted with the scriptures that he cannot [only] repeat the text in many places but cite chapter and verse. This negro's master is a Quaker who is so fond of him, and willing to oblige him, that he expressed no uneasiness at his coming to baptism . . .<sup>11</sup>

The other two Negroes were the slaves of Mr. Yates, a member of note in his church. Mr. Yates endeavored to train as many of his Negroes as were capable of receiving religious instruction. Mr. Ross continued to report the frequent attendance of the Negroes in church, and in June, 1712, he stated that every Sunday afternoon he catechized the baptized Negroes: "As well for their more perfect instruction as for the

<sup>9</sup>For the purposes of this study, Delaware is included with Pennsylvania.

<sup>10</sup>Thomas Crawford to John Chamberlayne, Kent County, Dover, August 31, 1708, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 4, No. 71.

<sup>11</sup>George Ross to [Secretary], Chester, May 15, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 2, p. 508; also in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), Vol. II, October 31, 1712. See also an interesting study by Allen Walker Read, "The Speech of Negroes in Colonial America," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXIV (July, 1939), pp. 247-258.

benefits of their country men, hoping to instil some good principles insensibly into their minds and to catch them unawares."<sup>12</sup>

In 1713, Ross was transferred to Newcastle<sup>13</sup> where he continued his work with the Negroes. The estimated number of Negroes in his parish was about 50, concerning whose instruction very little care was taken. Of the sporadic activities of several sects in the parish he wrote,

Some of them are in the hands of Quakers who leave them their common principles, the natural light. Others are in possession of Protestant Dissenters who . . . [lay] no great stress . . . on outward ceremony of baptism. Those few that are baptized belong to Churchmen. The truth is general indifference in Churchmen as well as in those of other sentiments, to make proselytes of their slaves. The true cause whereof is the want of zeal in masters and the untoward haughty behavior of those negroes who have been admitted into the fellowship of Christ's Religion. But its to be hoped, the frequent warnings and admonitions the colonies in general have, from the Venerable and Charitable body incorporated for promoting the Christian faith will by degrees rouse and awaken them, and put life in their endeavors, to save those souls, for whose loss, few seriously consider, who must be accountable.<sup>14</sup>

The Ross references to the "admonitions" from the Society explain the difficulties of Negro religious instruction and indicate the significance of such forceful directions as that of July 30, 1725, instructions which were repeated throughout the century.

It has been intimated to the Society that proper care hath not be[en] taken to instruct in the Christian religion and

<sup>12</sup>George Ross to Secretary, Chester, June 30, 1712, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 7, p. 508; same in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. II, October 31, 1712.

<sup>13</sup>Mr. Ross stated that the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, Delaware, were a distinct colony from the Province of Pennsylvania, having their own general assemblies to enact laws. Newcastle was the chief town, the best situated for trade and navigation. See George Ross to David Humphreys, Newcastle, Pennsylvania, March 1, [1728?], in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 20, p. 159.

<sup>14</sup>George Ross to David Humphreys, Newcastle, Pennsylvania, March 1, [1728?], in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 20, p. 165. A Church historian, the Rev. Edgar Legare Pennington, has surveyed the work of the Rev. George Ross and contributed briefly to the literature on the subject of baptism and its legal aspects and to the difficulties of religious pioneering in this colony. E. L. Pennington, "The Reverend Geo. Ross, S. P. G. Missionary at Newcastle, Delaware," in *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, Vol. 46 (October 1936), pp. 281-312. Dr. Pennington gives an interesting sidelight on the descendants of George Ross. He states (p. 312), that George Ross, the son of the Rev. George Ross, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and member of Congress. "His daughter Gertrude was married to George Read, of New Castle, also a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Betsy Ross, of American flag celebrity was the wife of John Ross, the son of the Reverend Aeneas Ross, who followed his father at Immanuel Church." See also another article by Dr. Pennington, "Thomas Bray's Associates and their Work Among the Negroes," in *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, Vol. 48 (October, 1938), pp. 311-403.

baptize the negroes in the plantations in America. The Society being desirous so good a work should be promoted as far as possible by them, and apprehending that their missionaries may have some negroes themselves, have directed me to acquaint them, that they do require all their missionaries who have any negroes or other slaves of their own to instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion and to baptize them as soon as they are sufficiently instructed and are willing to receive baptism. You will please, sir, to take notice of this particular direction of the Society and also encourage and advise your parishioners who may have negroes to let them be instructed and baptized. The Society have reprinted a sermon preached before them on this head, some copies of which you will receive here-with to be distributed among your parishioners.<sup>15</sup>

Quite naturally, the Society sought to cooperate with the Bray Associates, an organization founded in 1723 for the express purpose of work among the Negroes, and ordered that the "Bishop of London be asked to acquaint the Associates of Dr. Bray that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts is ready and desirous to enter with them into proper measures for instructing the Negroes in the Plantations, and that they have appointed several of their body to confer upon that subject with such persons as the Associates shall appoint at any time and place that shall be agreed upon."<sup>16</sup>

The problems of missionary field work were more real to the man on the job than to those at a distance. The program of the Society was dependent upon a careful analysis of these difficulties. By way of penetrating analysis, George Ross wrote to the Secretary,

What has been represented to the Honorable Society with respect to the not taking proper care in the instruction of negroes in these parts was not groundless and far from being unworthy of their particular regard, but then I beg leave to observe that the neglect which is too visible . . . was very much owing to the conduct of those slaves who after their initiation grew turbulent and boisterous aiming at a freedom which though no part of their Christian privilege, it appeared they had most at heart.

This behavoir as it gave great uneasiness to their masters, so it made the missionaries more suspicious of the sincerity of the blacks, and less fond of admitting them into baptism, judging those unfit for that holy rite, who had no other benefit in

<sup>15</sup>David Humphreys to all missionaries, London, July 30, 1725, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 19, p. 113.

<sup>16</sup>A paper containing a minute taken at a meeting of the Associates of Dr. Bray on Monday, February 3, 1734, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. VI, March 21, 1734.

view from it but an exemption from a yoke, which is not in the least inconsistent with true Christian liberty.<sup>17</sup>

Ross agreed that he would continue to instruct them on Sunday evenings, and keep a strict watch on their discipline, as he felt this was the best way to judge who were fit to be baptized. His constant endeavor was to make the Negroes understand the obligations that the Anglican faith placed upon its members, demanding obedience and loyalty particularly.

Ross prophesied that the frequent admonitions from the Society would, by degrees, awaken the masters, and put life into the missionaries' endeavors. Such an impetus was to be found in the Lord Bishop of London's Letters to the masters and mistresses of the English Plantations, and to the missionaries of the Society, exhorting them to encourage and promote the instruction of the Negroes in the Christian faith. Copies of the letters of Bishop Gibson were distributed by Ross, and he replied to the Society,

My Lord Bishop of London's printed letters about the instruction of negroes I received about two months ago, and have sent to the neighbouring missionaries their several shares as opportunity offered. If fair and close reasoning can remove the prejudices of men against the admitting of negroes into the Church, 'tis not doubted but his Lordship's pious endeavour will have the desired effect. The letter is so full and home [sic] to the point therein recommended that nothing but mere obstancy can resist its force and energy. It shall be my care to soften and prepare peoples minds, candidly and impartially to peruse, [his] Lordship's seasonable as well as great performance.<sup>18</sup>

Ross held this station until 1754, at which time the Rev. Samuel Brooke took it over. Mr. Brooke prevailed upon some of the Negroes to come for instruction on Sunday evenings, but neither his nor his successor's baptisms were numerous. In 1757, the post was assumed by the son of George Ross, the Rev. Aeneas Ross. In April, 1760, the latter recorded that one adult had been baptized in the last six months.<sup>19</sup> A year from this time he wrote, "There are a few negroes in this town and some from the country who attend divine service and behave ex-

<sup>17</sup>George Ross to David Humphreys, Newcastle, September 1, 1726, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 19, p. 372.

<sup>18</sup>George Ross to David Humphreys, Newcastle [Pennsylvania], May 17, 1728, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 21, p. 241.

<sup>19</sup>Aeneas Ross to [Philip Bearcroft], Newcastle, April 9, 1760, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XV, October 17, 1760; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 21, No. 214.

ceedingly well."<sup>20</sup> In October, 1762, he recorded the baptism of two Negro men,<sup>21</sup> but this is the last mention of baptisms until October, 1775, when he reported the baptism of four Negro children and two adults, a man, and a woman.<sup>22</sup>

In 1741, the Rev. Aeneas Ross<sup>23</sup> took over the work in Philadelphia, one of the most important parishes in the colony, and in March of the next year wrote to the Society,

Since my first coming here, I have baptiz'd upwards of 100 persons, 18 of whom were adults, 12 were Negroes men & women, who appear'd publickly before the Congregation & were examin'd in, & said their Catechisms to the Admiration of All that heard them. Nine of them I baptiz'd together the 17th Jan<sup>ry</sup> last, the like sight never before seen in Philad<sup>a</sup> Church.<sup>24</sup>

From this encouraging achievement he was transferred to Oxford, where he recorded the baptism of a Negro man, about 50 years of age, in 1746,<sup>25</sup> and another Negro in 1749.<sup>26</sup>

In 1722, the Rev. William Becket, the missionary at Lewes, the county seat of Sussex County, Delaware, reported the baptism of five adults in the first half of the year, two of whom were Negro slaves.<sup>27</sup> He found that several of the masters were preparing their Negroes for baptism, and, in 1729, he baptized nine black men. He wrote to David Humphreys,

The Number of persons baptiz'd in my parish [Lewes] the Year past are near an Hundred, about 80 of them Infants and children, 2 women who were bred Quakers, One a S[e]rv-

<sup>20</sup>*Aeneas Ross to Philip Bearcroft, Newcastle, Pennsylvania, April 8, 1761, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 21, No. 215.*

<sup>21</sup>*Aeneas Ross to Philip Bearcroft, Newcastle, October 11, 1762, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 21, No. 220.*

<sup>22</sup>*Aeneas Ross to Richard Hind, Newcastle, October 10, 1775, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 21, No. 244.*

<sup>23</sup>As stated in the above, Aeneas Ross was the son of George Ross, who was stationed in Newcastle from 1705-8; Chester, 1708-12 (prisoner in France, 1711); Newcastle, 1713-54. See C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, Vol. II, p. 852.

<sup>24</sup>*Aeneas Ross to Philip Bearcroft, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March 15, 1742, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 10, No. 115; also quoted in William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, II, p. 230; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. IX, October 15, 1742.*

<sup>25</sup>*Aeneas Ross to Philip Bearcroft, Oxford, Pennsylvania, April 4, 1746, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 12, No. 51.*

<sup>26</sup>*Aeneas Ross to Philip Bearcroft, Oxford, Pennsylvania, September 29, 1749, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 17, No. 157.*

<sup>27</sup>"*Notitia Parochialis*" of William Becket to David Humphreys, Lewes, [Pennsylvania], September 1, 1722, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 6, No. 242. Mr. Becket described his parish as being the whole county of Sussex, which was 50 miles in length and 20 in breadth.

ant maid in my own House, another a Tradesman's wife in the Town, who publickly renounced the principles of that Sect. 9 Negroes, who were instructed some by their Masters & Mistresses, & others by me, and some few infants besides in a Journey I made to visit the late Commissary on the Eastern Shore in Maryland. Some other persons are now preparing their Negro Slaves for baptism, I having taken some pains, not only to distribute My Lord of London's Letters, and the Sermons of B<sup>p</sup> Beveridge sent by the Society, but also to exhort privately, & to preach publickly on the Occasion. The number of Communicants at Lewes on Christmas day last was 20. At St. Georges at Easter 17, & at St. Matthews at Whitesontide [sic] 13.<sup>28</sup>

Becket was convinced that religious literature and encouragement from the Society and the bishops were effective in his work. He wrote cheerfully,

It is remarkable that I have baptiz'd at that Chapel in about six weeks time last past 10 White Persons & Eleven Negroes, besides a considerable number at the other Churches in this Country. From this single Instance, I hope it will be evident to the Hon. Society, that I have taken some pains to enforce the tenor of the Society's instructions & my Lord Bp. of London's Letters w<sup>th</sup> regard to the Negroes in my Parish, which has indeed more Church people in it than are in any (nominal) Parish in Pennsylvania. That perhaps may be owing [owing] to the great distance we are from Philadelphia, which at this time is the greatest Sink of Quakerism & Infidelity in all English America.<sup>29</sup>

After eleven years of service, Becket reported to the Society that traveling sometimes 1600 or 1700 miles a year, he had baptized altogether about 1000 people, black and white,<sup>30</sup> a truly notable record.

Mr. Becket's successor at Lewes, the Rev. Arthur Ussher, continued in successful prosecution of this work. In 1745, he recorded the baptism of four Negro children,<sup>31</sup> in 1746, two were baptized,<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup>William Becket to David Humphreys, Philadelphia, September 25, 1729, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 6, No. 248.

<sup>29</sup>William Becket to [David Humphreys], Lewes, Pennsylvania, July 1, 1731, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), Vol. VI, April 21, 1732; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 6, No. 238. See also another commendation of the Letters by Becket, April 20, 1732, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 6, No. 270.

<sup>30</sup>The exact number of Negroes baptized is not given. William Becket to [David Humphreys], Lewes, Pennsylvania, April 15, 1732, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), Vol. VI, November 17, 1732. As a result of his efforts, the members of the Church of England in his parish were greater in number than the dissenters of all sorts.

<sup>31</sup>Arthur Ussher to [Philip Bearcroft], Lewes, Pennsylvania, June 26, 1745, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 12, No. 64.

<sup>32</sup>Arthur Ussher to Philip Bearcroft, Lewes, Pennsylvania, June 26, 1746, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), Vol. X, October 17, 1746.

and, in 1749, "five adult Negroes, who could say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and six Negro children . . . "<sup>33</sup> In December of the same year, he told of baptizing four adult Negroes, and said, "to tell the truth, the masters . . . are now more disposed to instruct and have them baptized than ever, which resolution, I trust God, will continue them and bid go forth and prosper."<sup>34</sup> Between March and June of 1750, three Negro children were baptized.<sup>35</sup> and, from then to September, four adults<sup>36</sup> who could repeat the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. Nevertheless, his work was too trying for him and in a letter reporting the baptism of thirty-four black children and eight adult Negroes in October, 1752,<sup>37</sup> he said that he had become afflicted with gout and rheumatism, therefore, he gave notice that he was going to resign.<sup>38</sup>

The successor to the Rev. Mr. Ussher, the Rev. John Andrews, between November, 1767, and August, 1768, baptized two black children and one adult.<sup>39</sup> His last report gave his baptisms as two Negro children and four Negro adults between August, 1768, and April, 1769.<sup>40</sup> The missionary who followed him was the Rev. John Lyon, whose baptisms ran as follows: thirteen Negroes, two of them adults, between October, 1769, and October, 1770;<sup>41</sup> one black adult and eight infants in the next two years,<sup>42</sup> twenty-seven Negro children and four adults to April, 1773.<sup>43</sup> From this time, until 1783, the post was held by the Rev. Samuel Tingley, who said that he made thirteen adult Negro baptisms and forty-three children's baptisms from October, 1773, to November,

<sup>33</sup>Arthur Ussher to Philip Bearcroft, Lewes, Pennsylvania, March 25, 1749, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 17, No. 139.

<sup>34</sup>Arthur Ussher to Philip Bearcroft, Lewes, Pennsylvania, December 26, 1749, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 17, No. 162.

<sup>35</sup>Arthur Ussher to Philip Bearcroft, Lewes, Pennsylvania, June 25, 1750, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 18, No. 161.

<sup>36</sup>Arthur Ussher to Philip Bearcroft, Lewes, Pennsylvania, September 17, 1750, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 18, No. 162.

<sup>37</sup>Arthur Ussher to Philip Bearcroft, Lewes, Pennsylvania, October 18, 1752, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 20, No. 121.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>John Andrews to [Daniel Burton], Philadelphia, August 4, 1768, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XVIII, November 18, 1768. Aaron Cleveland, Ussher's immediate successor, died of dropsy shortly after his arrival. Mr. Andrews was also a missionary at Indian River and Cedar Creek.

<sup>40</sup>John Andrews to [Daniel Burton], Lewes, Pennsylvania, April 12, 1769, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XVIII, July 21, 1769.

<sup>41</sup>John Lyon to [Daniel Burton], Lewes, October 24, 1770, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XIX, July 17, 1772; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 21, No. 174.

<sup>42</sup>John Lyon to [Daniel Burton], Lewes, April 28, 1772, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XIX, July 17, 1772; S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 21, No. 177.

<sup>43</sup>John Lyon to [Secretary], Lewes, April 12, 1773, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XIX, July 16, 1773.

1774;<sup>44</sup> and, in 1782, he wrote concerning baptisms, "there have been several thousands, since I wrote last, among which were many blacks from sixty years to two months old."<sup>45</sup>

Turning now to Philadelphia, the commissary of Pennsylvania, the Rev. Robert Jenney, suggested to the Society, as early as 1745, that it send a catechist to that city. He believed there were as many Negroes in Philadelphia as there were in New York,<sup>46</sup> and they were daily increasing; he had baptized a large number, and never administered the Lord's Supper without several of them. Many Negroes, who were running after "vagrant factious preachers," would no doubt keep steady to the Church if properly instructed; Philadelphia was much infested with "popery and schismatical division;" and he was confident the Negroes would attend with joy the Catechetical Lectures, as most of the Negroes had "a disposition towards religion."<sup>47</sup> Accordingly, the Society decided, in April, 1746, to settle a catechist "in Philadelphia for the Instruction of Negroes and others with a Salary of 30 £ p. annum . . ."<sup>48</sup> The Rev. William Sturgeon was appointed to that position and also to be an assistant to Commissary Jenney, who was rector of Christ Church.<sup>49</sup> In an early letter, he stated that,

As soon as possible I began to catechize the white children on Friday, and the Negroes on Sunday at the End of Evening-Service: and I continue so to do, and as far as I can judge it has a good effect, especially amongst the Negroes, three of them who attend constantly, desired Baptism, and having Dr

<sup>44</sup>Samuel Tingley to [Richard Hind], Lewes, November 9 or 10, 1774, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XX, January 19, 1775; *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 21, No. 183.

<sup>45</sup>Samuel Tingley to William Morice, New York, March 5, 1782, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 21, No. 186.

<sup>46</sup>Commissary Jenney had been a missionary for the Society in Philadelphia, 1714-1715, and then was transferred to New York, until 1742, when he returned to Philadelphia as the bishop of London's commissary. From 1730-1775, "Philadelphia had become the largest town in all America." See A. T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741-1742* (Cleveland, 1926), p. 22.

<sup>47</sup>Commissary Robert Jenney to [Philip Bearcroft], Philadelphia, November 14, 1745, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. X, March 21, 1745-1746; also quoted in William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, Vol. II, p. 237.

<sup>48</sup>Philip Bearcroft to Commissary Jenney, Charterhouse, London, April 8, 1746, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 16, fo. 212. The congregation of Christ Church, Philadelphia, was to make an addition to his salary so that he would have "a comfortable and decent maintenance."

<sup>49</sup>Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), Vol. X, May 15, 1747; also Philip Bearcroft to Commissary Jenney, Charterhouse, London, May 28, 1747, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 16, fo. 217; William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, Vol. II, p. 250.

For a very good biography of Sturgeon, see Richard I. Shelling, "William Sturgeon, Catechist to the Negroes of Philadelphia and Assistant Rector of Christ Church, 1747-1766", in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Vol. VIII (December, 1939), pp. 388-401.

Jenny's Approbation, I examined, and baptized them in the Church. And I hope in Time to be able to inform the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Society of good Success amongst them, for I use all Diligence in Teaching them the Principles of the Christian Religion.<sup>50</sup>

By February of the following year, thirty Negroes were attending his instructions on Sunday evenings.<sup>51</sup> Mr. Sturgeon taught the catechism to Negroes of all ages. In April, 1749, he reported,

Yet I keep my eye steadily on the great work of catechizing and instructing the negroes, and spare no pains to gain over these poor ignorant souls to the knowledge of our Lord, Jesus Christ, that I may approve myself to the pious Society by a faithful and diligent execution of this great work. I catechize the children of the parishioners every Friday after Prayers, and every Sunday night I teach the catechism to a number of negroes of all ages, and afterwards read them a plain lecture on the several parts of our admirable Catechism which I endeavor to adopt to their capacities and to the gradual improvement which I observe them make. The number of negroe attendants amounts now to fifty, and I have sometimes a tolerable audience of the lower sort of the congregation. I have administered baptism to eleven, of which seven were adults.<sup>52</sup>

It must be remembered that baptism was a rite involving a certain amount of education, as well as instruction in doctrine. The hope was that this preparation would be the beginning of at least an elementary education. Consequently, the missionaries were always writing for more books. Sturgeon wanted more Bibles, Common Prayers, and small tracts to be used by the catechumens. In 1750, he explained :

. . . I still continue (as it is my duty so to do) to use my best endeavours to promote the intention of the Honorable Society in sending me here, in catechising and instructing the negroes in the true principals of Christianity, and I earnestly desire your advice to help me in that great work.

Their number seems to increase, and their progress in the knowledge of religion is considerable. Most of them who attend my catechetical lecture can rehearse the catechism and a good part of Lewis's Explanation, and I hope live according to their profession. The white children and servants I catechize every Friday.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup>William Sturgeon to Philip Bearcroft, Philadelphia, July 30, 1747, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 16, No. 104.

<sup>51</sup>William Sturgeon to [Philip Bearcroft], Philadelphia, February 3, 1747/48, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XI, May 20, 1748.

<sup>52</sup>William Sturgeon to Philip Bearcroft, Philadelphia, April 29, 1749, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 17, No. 147; Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XI, March 16, 1749/50.

<sup>53</sup>William Sturgeon to Philip Bearcroft, Philadelphia, July 26, 1750, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 18, No. 153; Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XI, November 16, 1750.

Sturgeon, reported, in vigorous words again and again, that he was meeting with success as a catechist to the Philadelphia Negroes. His enthusiasm was reflected in the attitude of the Society, which sent him a gratuity of £10, supplied him with books and tracts, with the result that his numbers increased cumulatively.<sup>54</sup>

For the next decade, interest in instruction flourished and baptisms continued. In April, 1754, the rector and churchwardens of Christ Church praised Mr. Sturgeon for his upright life, his great ability as a catechist, and his devotion to the interests of the Church, and recommended him to the favor of the Society.<sup>55</sup> This endorsement was followed shortly by letters from the missionary, giving further specific accounts of his work. In August, after these presentations of his record, he set forth his poverty and the expense of living in the city. He asked for an increase in salary or a gratuity. Ten pounds gratuity was granted in 1754,<sup>56</sup> and the same amount in 1755.<sup>57</sup> In 1757, he asked to be removed to Oxford. While the request was denied, his salary was increased from £30 to £50, this increase evidently a concrete endorsement of his successful Negro work. Besides, Commissioner Jenney, his superior, was ill and gave him additional responsibilities.<sup>58</sup> Another reason why Sturgeon was upset and had asked to be transferred

<sup>54</sup>See letters from William Sturgeon to the Society, February 3, 1747/48, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XI, May 20, 1748; July 26, 1750, in *ibid.*, November 16, 1750; April 26, 1751, in *ibid.*, Vol. XII, July 19, 1751. In February, 1748, Mr. Sturgeon had 30 Negroes attending instructions; in July, 1750, and April, 1751, he reported that his catechumens were increasing and that their behavior was "according to Godliness." Another Negro school in Philadelphia was directed by Anthony Benezet. In *Wilson Armistead (Editor), Anthony Benezet: from the Original Memoir (London, 1859)*, it is stated (p. 17), "and when a more enlarged plan of this nature was determined upon, by his brethren in religious profession, he contributed liberally towards it from his own limited income, and was indefatigable in soliciting donations from his opulent fellow-members, for the erection of a school for the instruction of the black people." This, no doubt, may be a reference to Sturgeon's school, although Armistead makes no mention of it.

<sup>55</sup>Rector and Churchwardens of Christ Church to [Philip Bearcroft], Philadelphia, April 26, 1754, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XII, November 15, 1754. For an account of Sturgeon's success, see a letter from the catechist to the Society, November 3, 1753, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XII, May 17, 1754, and another dated April 8, 1754, in *ibid.*, Vol. XII, June 21, 1754.

<sup>56</sup>*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XII, November 15, 1754.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, November 21, 1755.

<sup>58</sup>From 1757 to 1759, the Rev. Mr. Sturgeon performed all of the duties of rector; Dr. Jenney was unable to perform any part of his office. On November 3, 1757, Sturgeon reported that the affairs of the church were the same; he asked to be removed to Oxford, but was refused because Dr. Jenney needed his help and because his salary had been increased from £30 to £50. See a letter from Sturgeon to the Secretary, November 3, 1757, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XIV, February 24, 1758.

was that a certain Mr. Macclenaghan,<sup>58-a</sup> forbidden to preach in the orthodox pulpits of Philadelphia, had opened a lecture at his house in opposition to the Church, and accused Mr. Sturgeon of heresy. The missionary reported that great injury had been done to the Church.<sup>59</sup>

Concurrently, internal wrangles began and Mr. John Ross charged Sturgeon with neglect of duty, stating that the Sunday night lectures had been omitted, and that the only thing Sturgeon did for his £50 a year was to ask some Negro children a few questions on a prayer day.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, Mr. Ross explained, the members of the Church of which Mr. Sturgeon was now elected a minister on account of Dr. Jenney's death, were wealthy and numerous and able to support as many ministers as they wanted, and did not need the help of the Society. The Society settled this controversy by taking Mr. Ross's view that the members of the Church were able to support their own clergy and that the Society's funds should therefore be released for other work. This local controversy belonged to the growth of the work from Society support to parochial independence, and was not unusual as an instance of frontier controversy, inherent in rapid development. Naturally, Mr. Sturgeon replied, with specific denials of neglect of duty,

. . . on Wednesdays [I] catechised the white children, and on Friday the negroes, and instructed both in the sense and purport of each part; and for more than 17 years preached every Tuesday at the City Alms House, and once in three weeks during the summer season went to a church in the country . . . This has been my constant method from my first arrival to this day and lo! Now I am discharged from the service of one of the most Honorable Societies in the world, and what is the most hard to bear, *for neglect of duty to negroes . . .*<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58-a</sup>The Rev. William McClellan, an Irishman and a former dissenting teacher in New England, had received Anglican orders in 1755 and had served as the S. P. G. missionary in Maine from 1756 to 1758. In 1759 he deserted the Society's service and persuaded the vestry of Christ Church, Philadelphia, to elect him assistant minister without the rector's (Dr. Jenney's) consent. He was a member of the Methodist party, then within the Church of England, and was probably a disciple of Whitefield. Because of Jenney's opposition the bishop of London refused him a license and he had to withdraw. But he took several of the congregation with him and organized St. Paul's Church, with which he remained about two years.

<sup>59</sup>William Sturgeon to [Secretary], Philadelphia, August 21, 1761, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, Vol. XV, January 15, 1762; also in William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, Vol. II, p. 332.

<sup>60</sup>William Sturgeon had been receiving about £20 sterling yearly from donations for the instruction of Negroes, and with the money he had hired a lady to teach the young Negroes to read. See a letter from John Ross to the Society, Philadelphia, July 6, 1763, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XVI, October 28, 1763.

<sup>61</sup>William Sturgeon to the Secretary, Philadelphia, November 20, 1763, in William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, II, p. 356.

Sturgeon accused John Ross "who had been the chief instrument of dividing our church" of bringing about his dismissal and added that Mr. Ross "has been to me what the coppersmith was to St. Paul."<sup>62</sup> However, Sturgeon remained as minister in the Church and wrote to the Society in 1765 that he had resumed the instruction of the Negroes.<sup>63</sup>

In addition to this Negro school in Philadelphia, a schoolmaster, Mr. Joseph Rathell, was sent to Lancaster, and, in 1772, he reported that he was teaching several of the Negroes every Sunday evening in his school; they were learning the catechism and "some of the plainest duties of religion and morality."<sup>64</sup>

Another plan for a Negro school had been formulated by the Rev. George Whitefield at an earlier period. In 1740, he wrote to the Society that he intended to take up land for erecting and maintaining a Negro School in Pennsylvania.<sup>65</sup> He offered the information that the Negroes were in a pitiable condition, yet he had hopes of improving their minds if due care were taken to teach religion to them, because the black men in Pennsylvania met with better usage from their masters than in most provinces. Mr. Whitefield made known his plans to go to England to raise subscriptions, "and if the Gentlemen of the Society will be pleased to contribute something towards my undertaking, they would do a thing . . . acceptable in the sight of God . . ."<sup>66</sup> Probably the Society did not consider it with so many of its own missionaries asking for help.

The Rev. Robert Weyman, of Oxford, believed that the Letters and Sermons were a great help in conversion. In October, 1726, he wrote

<sup>62</sup>William Sturgeon to the Secretary, Philadelphia, November 20, 1763, in William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, II, p. 356.

<sup>63</sup>William Spurgeon to [Daniel Burton], Philadelphia, March 25, 1765, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XVI, September 20, 1765. Walter Herbert Stowe, in *The Life and Letters of Bishop William White* (p. 163), states,

"In 1758 the Bray Associates took vigorous hold of this [Negro] work and opened a school for 'the Blacks.' It was a work in which Benjamin Franklin and Francis Hopkinson especially interested themselves. The last datum on this school is of date 1806. The story has been brilliantly told by the Rev. E. L. Pennington from original sources."

Dr. Stowe gives as a reference (p. 163, footnote 59), E. L. Pennington, "The Work of the Bray Associates in Pennsylvania," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. LVIII (1934), 1-25.

<sup>64</sup>Joseph Rathell to [Daniel Burton], Lancaster, Pennsylvania, June 25, 1772, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XIX, October 23, 1772.

<sup>65</sup>George Whitefield to the Secretary, on board the "Savannah" on her passage from Savannah to Philadelphia, April 7, 1740 (extract), in William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, II, p. 213.

<sup>66</sup>George Whitefield to the Secretary; on board the "Savannah," April 7, 1740 (extract), in William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, Vol. II, p. 213; for a recent study of Whitefield see Edwin Noah Hardy, George Whitefield, *The Matchless Soul Winner* (New York, 1938). Reviewed by Ernest E. Eells in *Church History*, Vol. VIII (March, 1939), p. 101.

to David Humphreys that he had received the Sermons of the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, and had distributed them among the parishioners in order to encourage them in Pennsylvania toward the instruction of their Negroes. This necessary duty he had often urged upon the masters, but as yet it had not had great effect. Weyman was

. . . earnestly pressing . . . and recommending the usefulness and necessity of that good work, as well by public addresses from the pulpit, as by the private exhortation from house to house, the harvest is indeed great but the laborers very few and small and the want of them has even necessitated me to double my diligence in the work of my ministry to be in a manner an itinerant missionary . . .<sup>67</sup>

Again, the next year Weyman reported that he was instructing several blacks for baptism, and his communicants were increasing.<sup>68</sup> However, when he left Oxford, in 1728, he declared that no due attention was given to Negro instruction, although he had often pressed the necessity and duty of it upon the masters.<sup>69</sup>

Although very few Negroes were instructed or baptized by the Rev. Alexander Campbell, the missionary at Appoquinimink, from 1726 to 1729, he was concerned about the matter and in a letter of November 29, 1727, he explained to the Society,

. . . There is a vast number of negro slaves, a third part of the inhabitants at least. Very little care is taken as yet for instructing them. Very few instructed and fewer still baptized. Mr. Cantwell is a young gentlemen of humanity and good sense. Some of his negroes are baptized. He is a faithful member of the Church of England and deserves a letter from the Society to rivet him still the faster if possible to our interest and to induce others to follow his good example.<sup>70</sup>

Mr. Campbell's successor, the Rev. Walter Hackett, baptized four Negroes during his first year of service,<sup>71</sup> but he, too, found the "Masters very backward in their Care of instructing the adult Negroes . . ."<sup>72</sup> In 1732, he baptized three Negro children, whose parents

<sup>67</sup>Robert Weyman to David Humphreys, Oxford, Pennsylvania, October 1, 1726, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 19, pp. 374-375.

<sup>68</sup>Robert Weyman to David Humphreys, Oxford, Pennsylvania, March 9, 1727, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 6, No. 244.

<sup>69</sup>Robert Weyman to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, London, August 3, 1728. (*The Memorial of their lately arrived Missionary from Pennsylvania in America.*) William Stevens Perry. *Historial Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, Vol. II, p. 165.

<sup>70</sup>Alexander Campbell, to David Humphreys, Apoquiminik, November 29, 1727, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 20, p. 155.

<sup>71</sup>Walter Hacket to David Humphreys, Apoquiminik, Pennsylvania, October 21, 1730, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 23, p. 170.

<sup>72</sup>Walter Hacket to David Humphreys, Apoquiminik, Pennsylvania, August 2, 1731, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 6, No. 241.

were well instructed in their catechisms and prayers.<sup>73</sup> Upon the death of Mr. Hackett, in March, 1734,<sup>74</sup> the mission was taken over by the Rev. John Pugh. An early report revealed the fact that he had baptized a few Negroes, but he confessed that he did not expect to baptize many, for their masters were generally so much prejudiced against their being made Christians, that it seemed past his skill to accomplish much.<sup>75</sup> Yet his mission was fairly successful, because in his "Notitia Parochialis," for May to November, 1738, he recorded the baptism of six Negro children and one adult.<sup>76</sup> During the first six months of 1739, he baptized seven Negro children,<sup>77</sup> between June and November, 1740, five more.<sup>78</sup> The number continued to decrease, however, and, in 1742, only two Negroes were baptized.<sup>79</sup> One child in 1743<sup>80</sup> and seven adults in 1744, completed his successful record of Negro work.<sup>81</sup> One hindrance in Mr. Pugh's work deserves special mention. He explained that he was often troubled with difficulties about sureties at baptisms;<sup>82</sup> the people pressed him to baptize their children without them. He thought he lost some Presbyterians on that account and asked the Society's advice.

Mr. Pugh's successor, the Rev. Philip Reading, remained in Appoquinimink for 31 years, from 1746 to 1777. A summary of his bap-

<sup>73</sup>Walter Hacket to David Humphreys, St. George's, October 2, 1732, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 6, No. 274; same letter in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. VI, July 20, 1733.

<sup>74</sup>Churchwardens and Vestry to David Humphreys, Apoquiminik, Pennsylvania, June 1, 1734, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 25, p. 201.

<sup>75</sup>John Pugh to the Secretary, Apoquiminik, February 10, 1735 (extract), in *William Stevens Perry, Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, Vol. II, p. 196.

<sup>76</sup>John Pugh to David Humphreys, Apoquiminik, November 28, 1738, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 7, p. 188 [Pt. I]; same letter in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. VIII, April 13, 1739. The Rev. Mr. Pugh baptized 34 white children during this time.

<sup>77</sup>John Pugh to David Humphreys, St. George's, July 31, 1739, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 7, p. 188 [?]. Since December 24, 1738, Pugh had baptized in addition to these Negroes, 34 white children.

<sup>78</sup>John Pugh to Philip Bearcroft, Apoquiminik, November 17, 1740, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 9, No. 103. Baptisms of fourteen white children were made.

<sup>79</sup>John Pugh to [Philip Bearcroft], Apoquiminik, [February], 1742, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 10, No. 120. The exact date of this letter is not given, but it was probably written in February, 1742, because it was read before the Society on March 14, 1742. Also same to same, April 19, 1742, in *ibid*, B 10, No. 121.

<sup>80</sup>John Pugh to [Philip Bearcroft], Apoquiminik, October 2, 1743, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. IX, December 16, 1743.

<sup>81</sup>John Pugh to [Philip Bearcroft], Apoquiminik, October 4, 1744, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. X, April 19, 1745.

<sup>82</sup>John Pugh to [Philip Bearcroft], Apoquiminik, November 28, 1738, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 7, p. 188 (pt. 1); same letter in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. VIII, April 13, 1739.

tisms shows four, for 1746-1747;<sup>83</sup> five, for 1747-1748;<sup>84</sup> nineteen, for 1749-1750;<sup>85</sup> in the next year one "sober, well-disposed Negro-woman" and seven Negro infants;<sup>86</sup> nine infants, in 1762;<sup>87</sup> one adult Negro in each of the following years, 1771,<sup>88</sup> 1774<sup>89</sup> and 1775.<sup>90</sup> Mr. Reading, zealous in Negro work, both publicly and privately urged their conversion on the masters as a duty of the greatest importance. Some converts were gained, but he lamented that many of his Church members, good Christians, were strongly prejudiced against their slaves being instructed. In 1752, he analyzed his problems for the Society in a long letter,

. . . I must, however, confess that that branch of my duty which relates to the conversion of the unhappy slaves affords the least comfortable prospect. I have often both publicly and

<sup>83</sup>Philip Reading to [Philip Bearcroft], *Apoquiminik, Pennsylvania*, March 26, 1746/47, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. X, September 18, 1747; William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, Vol. II, p. 245.

<sup>84</sup>"*Notitia Parochialis*" from September 30, 1747, to March 26, 1748, in a letter from Philip Reading to [Philip Bearcroft], *Apoquiminik*, March 26, 1748, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (Trans.), B 16, No. 94. The complete record was as follows:

Number of Inhabitants.....	{	By families . . . . .	496
		By computation of souls.....	2,518
Number of the Baptized .....			1,986
Number of adults baptized within this half year.....			1
Number of actual communicants of the Church.....			49
Number of those who profess themselves of the Church	{	By families . . . . .	253
		By computation of souls.....	775

Number of dissenters excluding slaves.....

particularly Papists—of which are Papists.....

Number of Heathen and Infidels—Negro Slaves not within the pale of Christianity.....

374

<sup>85</sup>"*Notitia Parochialis*" from September 30, 1749, to June 25, 1750, in a letter from Philip Reading to Philip Bearcroft, *Apoquiminik*, June 25, 1750, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), B 18, No. 164. The complete record was:

Number of inhabitants.....	{	By families . . . . .	487
		By computation of souls.....	2,469
Number of baptized .....			1,978
Number of adults baptized in last half year.....			1
Number of communicants of the Church of England.....			43

Number of heathen. Negro slaves not within the pale of Christianity 367

<sup>86</sup>Philip Reading to [Philip Bearcroft], *Apoquiminik*, March 26, 1751, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XII, November 15, 1751. Also in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), B 19, No. 111.

<sup>87</sup>Philip Reading to [Daniel Burton], *Apoquiminik, Pennsylvania*, October 5, 1762, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XV, January 21, 1763; see also William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, Vol. II, p. 342.

<sup>88</sup>Philip Reading to [Daniel Burton], *Apoquiminik, Pennsylvania*, October 2, 1771, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XIX, December 20, 1771.

<sup>89</sup>Philip Reading to Daniel Burton, *Apoquiminik, Pennsylvania*, [March?] 1774, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), B 21, No. 210.

<sup>90</sup>Philip Reading to [Richard Hind], *Apoquiminik, Pennsylvania*, March 15, 1775, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XX, July 21, 1775.

privately recommended it to masters and mistresses, as a duty of the greatest importance, to forward as much as in them lies the instruction of the slaves, and in serious well-governed families this has had so good effect as to bring some negro adults and many of their children to Christian baptism; but these converts bear no proportion to the numbers of those who live as without God in the world. Some, even of our own Church, who are otherwise well-inclined Christians, are strongly prejudiced against their slaves being instructed; and I sincerely wish that the slaves themselves by their rebellious behaviour after baptism, had not given too much cause for such prejudice. And for the looser part of mankind, it can hardly be expected that these should promote the spiritual welfare of this meanest branch of their families, who think but little if at all of their own eternal state. It may, however, be reasonably hoped, that as the Christian religion takes deeper root in the breasts of the superior and governing part of families in this American world, the conversion of the negroes, may, in its due season, be also brought to pass. In the meantime I take this opportunity to assure your venerable body, that no care and pains shall be wanting on my part to build up these poor people, as well as others in my flock in the saving of our Lord Jesus Christ . . .<sup>91</sup>

The specific program of the S. P. G. was to instruct the slave and to baptize him, which rite was an important, even if an intangible, recognition of him as a human being with some of the white man's rights, and a partial adoption into the white man's religion and society. Whether the process of preparation, and the ritual of baptism and other religious services, raised in the mind of the Negro some but dimly remembered African rite of tribal society, or in the mind of the Indian suggested the reverse process of his own occasional adoption of white men into his tribes, are points difficult if not impossible to answer. Suffice it to say that the matter of baptism of slaves raised the question of possible legal freedom not merely in the American colonies, continental and insular, but in South Africa as well.

The amount of the material bearing on the subject of the legal effect of baptism is enormous and shows that the question arose early and continued up to the moment of emancipation. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in Pennsylvania, where the missionary came into normal contact with the Negro as a part of the general population, but in a minority; a situation where the tension and strain of possible slave insurrections was at a minimum, as against the West Indies, where slave insurrections were a matter of general expectation, and where, consequently, any concession to missionary enterprise was regarded as dan-

<sup>91</sup>Philip Reading to Philip Bearcroft, Apoquiminik, October 10, 1752, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 20, No. 112; quoted also in William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, Vol. II, p. 184.

gerous and provocative of possible labor trouble and riot and rebellion. There the missionary was a lone agent among masses of Negroes and hampered by the plantation regime of capitalistic production, with rigid field days, and Sundays given over to the slaves for marketing and attending their gardening plots.<sup>92</sup> In Pennsylvania, on the contrary, the Negro was taught on the "porch" of the parish church, in Philadelphia his classes included some of the poorer white members of the Church, and he himself appeared before the congregation to be publicly catechized, baptized, and in a word, accepted as a member of the Christian community.

The effect of this solemn and public religious ceremony, as examined in all the great body of evidence, overwhelmingly gives the impression that the Negro felt himself lifted at least a step toward freedom, and that the masters and the general white public, watchfully and fearfully shared his view.<sup>93</sup>

In the light of the particular significance of baptism and admission to the parish rolls, the work of the Rev. William Lindsay, missionary at Bristol, on the Delaware River, from 1735 to 1745, is worth notice even for one instance. In the first year of his mission one Negro man was baptized.<sup>94</sup> In 1739, Lindsay said he had baptized a Negro woman, whom he "Catechis'd publicly in Trenton [New Jersey] & whose answers were very Satisfying & y<sup>e</sup> Congregation gave their consent to her being baptiz'd & recommended her for her good behavior in her Service."<sup>95</sup>

An inveterate worker for the Society in Pennsylvania was the Rev. Hugh Neill.<sup>96</sup> Stationed at Dover from 1750 to 1756, and at Oxford from 1757 to 1765, his work was especially successful. He instructed the Negroes in the Christian doctrines every Sunday evening, and, in his first year of service, he baptized 109 adults and 17 of their children.<sup>97</sup> Destitute of proper helps for their instruction, he asked the Society for

<sup>92</sup>For a comparative view of these conditions, see Frank Wesley Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies* (New Haven, 1917); Frank J. Klingberg, "British Humanitarianism at Codrington," in *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXIII (October, 1938), pp. 451-486; also by the same author, "The Lady Mico Charity Schools in the British West Indies 1835-1842, in *ibid.*, XXIV (July, 1939), pp. 291-344; *The Anti Slavery Movement in England* (New Haven, 1926); Reginald Coupland, *The British Anti-Slavery Movement* (London, 1933).

<sup>93</sup>A further contribution to this subject of baptism and its legal aspects will be made as a separate study.

<sup>94</sup>William Lindsay to David Humphreys, Bristol upon Delaware, Pennsylvania, March 9, 1736/7, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), A 26, p. 345.

<sup>95</sup>William Lindsay to [Secretary], New Bristol on Delaware, September 29, [not clear] 1739, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), B 7, Pt. II, p. 204.

<sup>96</sup>Hugh Neill was an ex-Presbyterian teacher from New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

<sup>97</sup>Hugh Neill to Philip Bearcroft, Dover, Pennsylvania, September 1, 1751, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), B 19, No. 121; same in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XII, December 20, 1751.

a few of Lewis' *Catechisms* to distribute among them.<sup>98</sup> Although these aids were requested in 1751, he wrote the Society in June, 1752:

. . . but what gives me greatest concern is my poor negro flock. Not having received any catechisms . . . for their instruction, I have baptized within this last half year . . . 36 adults, each of whom can say the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments . . . Altho few can read, I have upwards of a hundred that give as constant attendance, as their masters will permit of, every Sunday evening . . . to . . . instruction.<sup>99</sup>

From June to December, 1752, twelve more Negroes were baptized.<sup>100</sup>

Reports of success and of baptisms continued, but Neill stated that the determined opposition of the masters in his parish to Christianization of their Negro slaves at times took the form of threatening to tie them up and whip them if they went to Church or answered to their Christian names. The masters alleged that the more the black men knew, the greater villains they were.<sup>101</sup>

Mr. Neill's place at Dover was taken by one of the ablest and most courageous missionaries of the Society, the Rev. Charles Inglis. He was born in Ireland in 1734,<sup>102</sup> came to America in 1754, and returned to England for his ordination by Bishop Zachariah Pearce in 1758.<sup>103</sup> He held the station of Dover from 1759 to 1765. He became the rector of Trinity Church, New York, in 1777,<sup>104</sup> a position which he held until 1783; when he left the city with Sir Guy Carleton and the British forces. On August 12, 1787, he was consecrated "the first Colonial Bishop of the English Church,"<sup>105</sup> and then established his headquarters in Nova Scotia.

The first "Notitia parochialis" sent from Dover by the Rev. Mr. Inglis, including the months from August 1759 to April 1760, recorded

<sup>98</sup>Hugh Neill to Philip Bearcroft, Dover, Pennsylvania, September 1, 1751, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 19, No. 121; same in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XII, December 20, 1751. The Society agreed to send him 100 copies. Almost every letter to the Society from Mr. Neill asked for more books of various kinds for distribution.

<sup>99</sup>Hugh Neill to Philip Bearcroft, Dover, [Kent County] Pennsylvania (now Delaware), June 24, 1752, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 20, No. 109; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XII, November 17, 1752.

<sup>100</sup>Hugh Neill to Philip Bearcroft, December 26, 1752, *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 20, No. 110.

<sup>101</sup>Hugh Neill to [Philip Bearcroft], Dover, Pennsylvania, June 20, 1755, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XIII, November 21, 1755.

<sup>102</sup>John Wolfe Lydekker, *The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis* (London, 1936), p. 1. Reviewed by Frank J. Klingberg in *American Historical Review*, Vol. 42 (April, 1937), pp. 558-559.

<sup>103</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 182. Inglis had been elected assistant rector and catechist in 1764, but returned to Dover for a year, see *op. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>105</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 249.

the baptism of six Negroes.<sup>106</sup> In June, 1761, he baptized a Negro child, and another one the following year.<sup>107</sup> Black communicants numbered six,<sup>108</sup> an increase of one in two years. From September 1763 to September 1764, one black child was baptized, and five Negro communicants came to the table.<sup>109</sup> Mr. Inglis left Dover in December 1765, and, during his six years' work, he had baptized only six black children, and two adult Negroes.<sup>110</sup> His successor, the Rev. Samuel Magaw, baptized five black children in the space of two years,<sup>111</sup> the length of his mission in this station.

The early phase of Revolutionary agitation did not seem to affect the success of the S. P. G. work among the Negroes. The usual numbers of baptisms continued to be reported up to about 1774. A few examples, picked at random, will illustrate this fact. The Rev. Mr. Neill, in 1762, reported the baptism of four Negroes in Oxford;<sup>112</sup> the Rev. Mr. Barton, of Lancaster, in 1764 baptized two black men;<sup>113</sup> the Rev. John Andrews, of Lewes, three years later reported seven Negro

<sup>106</sup>*Charles Inglis to Philip Bearcroft, Dover, May 10, 1760, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 21, No. 139, "Notitia Parochialis" for Dover, August 26, 1759, to April 20, 1760. Complete record is as follows:*

	Cannot exactly be ascertained.
Number of Inhabitants	The number of taxables about 1,500
Number baptized	Unknown
Number of adults baptized this 8 months	4....(3 Quakers, 1 Negro)
Number of actual communicants of the Church of England	73....(5 Negroes)
Number of those who profess . . . Church of England	Unknown (perhaps not above the sixth part of the inhabitants)
Number of dissenters . . . particularly Papists	Unknown, the number of Papists small.
Number of heathen and infidels	Unknown—Deistical principles prevail very much among those who would be called the better sort.
Number of converts from a profane etc. life . . .	But few. I can...with certainty and pleasure mention 4.

<sup>107</sup>*Charles Inglis to Philip Bearcroft, Dover, June 21, 1761, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 21, No. 141.*

<sup>108</sup>*Charles Inglis to Daniel Burton, Dover, June 15, 1762, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 21, No. 143.*

<sup>109</sup>*Charles Inglis to [Daniel Burton], Dover, Pennsylvania, November 20, 1764, in S. P. G. MSS., B 3, No. 355; Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XVI, February 15, 1765.*

<sup>110</sup>*Charles Inglis to [Daniel Burton], New York, April 19, 1766, and May 1, 1766, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XVII, July 18, 1766. Other statistics were: white children baptized, 750, white adults baptized 21, white communicants increased from 49 to 114.*

<sup>111</sup>*Samuel Magaw, to [Daniel Burton], Pennsylvania, November 17, 1768, and November 25, 1769, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XVIII, February 16, 1770.*

<sup>112</sup>*Hugh Neill to [Daniel Burton], Oxford, Pennsylvania, June 5, 1762, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XV, October 15, 1762.*

<sup>113</sup>*Thomas Barton to [Daniel Burton], Lancaster, Pennsylvania, November 16, 1764, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XVI, March 15, 1765.*

and two mulatto baptisms.<sup>114</sup> From the counties of York and Cumberland came the report, in 1768, that two Negroes had been baptized;<sup>115</sup> the Rev. John Lyons of Sussex County, in 1770, told of baptizing "2 adult slaves, and 11 infant slaves";<sup>116</sup> in 1772, he baptized nine Negroes,<sup>117</sup> and, in the next year, seven.<sup>118</sup>

By 1775, however, S. P. G. work in Pennsylvania, as in other northern places, suffered a purge. The Anglicans were now royalist suspects, and regarded as an additional arm of imperial authority. A cross section of their reports has been selected to show their individual distresses amid the swift currents of the time. There was, of course, an interruption of regular work with the two groups of natives—Indians and Negroes.

A year earlier, in 1774, the Rev. William Smith of Philadelphia was lamenting the unhappiness caused him by the conflict, for he found it difficult not to give offense to the friends of the Constitution either in England or in America.<sup>119</sup> In 1775, Thomas Barton declared that the rage of faction and animosity was likely to ruin a once happy country, and, as he was no politician, he foresaw that if he had taken an active part in the conflict, it would do no service to religion. He had, therefore, remained quiet in the interest of the Church and his own peace.<sup>120</sup> However, by 1776, he had been obliged to shut up his church, and had nothing to live on but the gratuities of his congregation. In response to his request for advice, the Society sent letters to him and other missionaries, signifying its approval of their conduct in shutting up their churches and recommending their re-opening as soon as consistent with safety.<sup>121</sup>

Mr. Barton's fellow-worker, the Rev. Philip Reading, was of a more controversial disposition; he wrote that it was difficult for him not to take part in the present disputes, as continued efforts had been made to make him obnoxious to the public, but he had answered accusations by repeating that he could not dispense with the oaths to the King by which he was bound.<sup>122</sup> By 1776 he was no longer able to use

<sup>114</sup>John Andrews to Daniel Burton, Lewes in Sussex County, November 18, 1767, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 21, No. 166.

<sup>115</sup>William Thomson to [Daniel Burton], Carlisle, Pennsylvania, June 25, 1768, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XVIII, November 18, 1768.

<sup>116</sup>John Lyons to Daniel Burton, Sussex County on Delaware, October 24, 1770, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 21, No. 174.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., Philadelphia, April 28, 1772, B 21, No. 177.

<sup>118</sup>John Lyons to Richard Hinds, [Philadelphia?], November 22, 1773, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 21, No. 177.

<sup>119</sup>William Smith to [Secretary], Philadelphia, November 5, 1774, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XX, January 19, 1775.

<sup>120</sup>Thomas Barton to [Secretary], Lancaster, October 20, 1775, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XXI, January 19, 1776.

<sup>121</sup>*Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XXI, March 21, 1777.

<sup>122</sup>Philip Reading to [Secretary], Apoquiminik, March 18, 1776, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XXI, March 21, 1777.

the Liturgy with safety, so he closed his church on July 28th, but said he would not relax in the private duties of his parish.<sup>123</sup> The Rev. Samuel Magaw, missionary at Dover, in 1776 mentioned to the Society the hazardous state of the clergy amidst a variety of difficulties. He explained that he had endeavoured to walk with great circumspection, avoiding every compliance which he thought the Society might disapprove of, and using every mild expedient to preserve peace and good order among his people.<sup>124</sup>

In November 1776, the Rev. Samuel Johnson, of York, gave an account of the state of the Church in the Revolution, and told of the disputes regarding prayers for the King. Since independence, no Church services had been performed in the province except in Philadelphia, where prayers for the King were omitted.<sup>125</sup> The Rev. Thomas Barton was finally forced to flee to New York.<sup>126</sup> The Rev. Alexander Murray, of Reading, was asked to leave by his parishioners because he remained loyal,<sup>127</sup> and the missionary in York county, the Rev. Daniel Batwell, was kept prisoner at various times by the patriots, although often ill in bed. His situation finally reached a climax with a ducking in the river, after which he was ridden out of town, the people admitting that he had done nothing to deserve this, except that he was a Tory.<sup>128</sup> He fled to Philadelphia and took refuge with Dr. Smith. He told of his former happy situation at Huntington, where the loyal people were reduced to "slavery" by "the rebels." The Society granted him some money in view of his distressed circumstances.<sup>129</sup>

Although thus temporarily in disfavor, the S. P. G. had helped lay foundations sufficiently strong to permit Churchmen, when the storm had passed, to reopen their churches and to return to their religious and humanitarian programs as independent American Episcopalians. For the S. P. G. in Pennsylvania had already made permanent contributions to humanitarian progress in the new world. Possibly the first printed protest against slavery in America was that of the itinerant mis-

<sup>123</sup>Philip Reading to [Secretary], *Apoquinimuk, Pennsylvania*, August 25, 1776, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XXI, April 10, 1777.

<sup>124</sup>Samuel Magaw to [Secretary], *Philadelphia*, October 7, 1776, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XXI, April 10, 1777.

<sup>125</sup>Samuel Johnson to [Secretary], *York, Pennsylvania*, November 25, 1776, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XXI, March 21, 1777; Walter Herbert Stowe, *The Life and Letters of Bishop William White* (New York, 1937), p. 40 ff.

<sup>126</sup>Thomas Barton to [Secretary], in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XXI, February 19, 1779.

<sup>127</sup>Henry May Keim, "The Episcopal Church in Reading, Pennsylvania," in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography*, Vol. IV (1880), p. 77.

<sup>128</sup>Samuel Johnson to Secretary, *York, Pennsylvania*, November 25, 1776, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XXI, March 21, 1777.

<sup>129</sup>Daniel Batwell to the Secretary, *York County*, March 25, 1778, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. XXI, June 19, 1778.

sionary, George Keith, in 1693.<sup>130</sup> An early statement of the economic argument that one freeman consumes four times the quantity of goods that a Negro slave would need, together with arguments for free labor in building up British industry and commerce, is found in an address to the inhabitants of the British settlements in America upon slave-keeping.<sup>131</sup> Anti-slavery correspondence between interested individuals in the colonies and London, begun before the Revolution, was resumed after independence. The early perception and documentation of the thesis, both in Great Britain and in the colonies, that the Negro, like other immigrants, could become a full partner in the building of America was an ideal and a program that could survive political separation.<sup>132</sup>

Before 1775, all the standard arguments against the slave system, economic and humanitarian, had been set forth. Moreover, the technique of reform had been developed and was readily adapted to promote the welfare of any group. To cite one example, the whole pattern of collecting and applying funds to specific objectives had been worked out to appeal to the humane instincts of a business people. The habit was early formed of using funds from groups in all parts of England for the specific purpose of Negro education. The Negro was thus accepted as a worthy beneficiary of British charity and generosity.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>130</sup>See "The First Printed Protest Against Slavery in America," in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XIII (1889), pp. 265-270.

<sup>131</sup>See *An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America upon Slave Keeping to which are added Observations on a Pamphlet entitled, "Slavery not forbidden by Scripture," etc., by a Pennsylvanian* (Philadelphia, 1750), in Huntington Library; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1712-1714*, December 22, 1713, p. 268.

<sup>132</sup>For specific instances of cooperation in the anti-slavery movement see Annie H. Abel and Frank J. Klingberg, *A Side-Light on Anglo-American Relations, 1839-1858* (Washington, D. C., 1927).

<sup>133</sup>Henry Rolle to David Humphreys, Great[er] Marlborough Street, [London], January 17, 1732-33, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 24, p. 96. Illustrative of many was the contribution received by Mr. Rolle. Mr. Rolle informed the Society that he had fifty-five pounds which he had orders to give to the S. P. G. The money was to be applied entirely towards the instruction and baptism of Negroes in the English settlements in America. Other items, illustrative of these gifts, can be found in the numbers of the Journal and S. P. G. MSS. See Richard King to David Humphreys, Topsham, September 5, 1730, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 22, p. 131. Mr. King enclosed £25 5s from several persons in the diocese of Exon towards instructing and baptizing the Negroes in the American Plantations; Mr. Troyte to D. Humphreys, Kellerton, November 6, 1730, in *ibid.*, p. 134. Mr. Troyte subscribed £5 per annum for the Negroes; the bishop of Carlisle paid the Society's treasurer £42 collected among his clergy for the instruction of Negroes recorded in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. V, September 18, 1730; the Society received two guineas for the instruction of the Negroes from the Rev. Mr. King of Topsham, and £50 sent by Mr. King for an anonymous gentleman, in *ibid.*, August 20, 1731; a bequest by Edward Jauncey of £300 for conversion of infidels, and a record of six guineas for the conversion of the Negroes, in *ibid.*, December 17, 1731; and the secretary's report of £55 in benefactions, and 10½ guineas from the bishop of Carlisle for the clergy of his diocese, in *ibid.*, Vol. VI, January 19, 1732. Similar items continue throughout the century.

Further, as to the conservation of two native groups, the Negro and the Indian, it is clear from the body of evidence that the S. P. G. missionary, finding work with the Indian difficult because his race in the mass, from decade to decade, retreated more rapidly than the missionary could pursue him, tended on the whole to remain in his first centers of activity. His labors in the growing parishes, containing always some Negroes,<sup>134</sup> were in demand in these settled communities. He was beset, too, by energetic and, from his point of view, poaching evangelists, such as George Whitefield, representing other sects, or other religious methods.

Moreover, this conservation movement for native peoples is not ended in our own day, but includes prodigious efforts in the twentieth century to protect the African populations. Without the Negro it is obvious that equatorial Africa would be valueless, and much of the equatorial Americas could not have been developed in a recognizable way.<sup>135</sup> The Negro, as he passed through slave trade, slavery, and emancipation into civil rights and citizenship, has been a bone of contention between the local colony or state, and partially became a ward of the national government. The acts to regulate the slave trade as part of an imperial commercial policy—cases involving the coastwide slave trade; amendments to the Constitution after the Civil War, namely, the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth and occasional bills in Congress to protect him against mob violence—are merely high lights in the long story of Negro-White relationship.

The timeliness of uncovering the historic traditions and processes of the management of native people in the Anglo-American world is obvious. The eighteenth century effort of Anglo-American humani-

<sup>134</sup>Additional material on the work of the S. P. G. missionaries in Christianizing and educating the Negroes and Indians in the other British colonies, can be found in the following works of Frank J. Klingberg: *Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York* (see especially Chapter IV, "The S. P. G. Program for Negroes in Colonial New York," pp. 121-190); *British Humanitarianism at Codrington*, in *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXIII (October, 1938), pp. 451-468; "The Lady Mico Charity Schools in the British West Indies, 1835-1842," in *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV (July, 1939), pp. 291-344; "The Efforts of the S. P. G. to Christianize the Mosquito Indians, 1742-1765," in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Vol. IX (December, 1940), pp. 305-321; "The Indian Frontier in South Carolina as Seen by the S. P. G. Missionary," in *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. V (November, 1939), pp. 479-500.

The Church Historical Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church has published two pertinent volumes: Dr. Edgar Legare Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey*, John Talbot, 1645-1727 (Philadelphia, 1938), and Dr. Walter Herbert Stowe, *The Life and Letters of Bishop William White*. The latter work throws much light on the great part played by Bishop White in the organization of the American Episcopal Church. John Wolfe Lydekker, archivist of the S. P. G. in London, in his *The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis*, presents valuable material.

<sup>135</sup>See Reginald Coupland, *The British Anti-Slavery Movement*, p. 18, for a statement that "America was saved by Africa" as a productive economic unit.

tarianism is part of a continuous story of great importance in the solution of twentieth century race relationship in all the continents.

Happily, in the founding of the United States, the S. P. G. can point to a Negro race wholly Christianized. In the attainment of this result, its missionaries, catechists, and teachers took a notable pioneering part. Here all peoples but the Indians were immigrants, and in great degree had to adapt or perhaps wholly discard their heritages. The Negro, particularly, had to embark on a new destiny, which we commonly call Americanization, because his contacts with Africa were more completely lost than the white man's contact with Europe. He left behind his tribal life, his economic stake in Africa, and, thus stripped of his heritage, cast in his lot with that of the white man, and today is an American and a Christian. His status as a slave for generations should not obscure either the magnitude of his contribution or the fact of his complete Americanization.

## THE REVEREND SAMUEL MYLES AND HIS BOSTON MINISTRY

*By Edgar Legare Pennington*

**W**HEN the Reverend Samuel Myles began his ministry in Boston, the principal men who had sponsored the Church of England in Massachusetts were confined as prisoners. A violent outbreak had taken place a little over two months before; and the Church itself had shared in the depredations which occurred. The most powerful native inhabitants not only did not desire to see the English Church planted there, but stood ready to prevent it and to block its progress by forcible means. No Anglican clergyman in the history of the American colonies entered upon his work with more avowed opposition.

Yet Myles had much in his favour. He knew the Massachusetts non-conformists and had been reared and educated among them. He was a son of a Baptist minister, the Reverend John Myles, of Swansea, Massachusetts, who had come from Wales about 1662; and he had graduated from Harvard in 1684. For a while he taught at Charles Town, Massachusetts; but went to England for ordination in the Church of England about 1687. On the 29th of June, 1689, he was inducted as rector of the Anglican Church at Boston, succeeding the Reverend Robert Ratcliffe, who was preparing to return to England.<sup>1</sup> The date of his first service in the new edifice is regarded as the beginning of King's Chapel—June 30th.

The upheaval which had resulted in the imprisonment of Governor Edmund Andros and Edward Randolph, and had manifested itself in the destruction of Church property, was augmented by the partisan pamphlets which were being circulated by those uncompromising leaders of thought—Increase and Cotton Mather. In the heat of the excitement, Doctor Increase Mather published “A Brief Discourse Concerning the Unlawfulness of the Common Prayer Worship, and of Laying the Hand on, and Kissing the Booke in Swearing.” He said that the ceremonies prescribed there are “in great measure Popish and heathenish.”

“Such things are enjoyned in the Common Prayer Booke as (to my conscience) cannot bee Practised without sin.”

<sup>1</sup>Perry: *Historical Collections, Massachusetts*, p. 658; Sprague: *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, p. 70.

He declared that it would be apostacy in him to "countenance or comply with the Common Prayer worship."

On May 28th, 1690, Cotton Mather was the preacher of the annual election sermon before the General Court of Massachusetts. In the course of his remarks, he said:

"Let all mankind know, That we came into the Wilderness, because we would quietly worship God without that *Episcopacy*, that Common Prayer, and those unwarrantable *Ceremonies* which the *Land of our Father's Sepulchres*, has been defiled with; we came because we would have our Posterity settled under the pure and full *Dispensations* of the Gospel, defended by the *Rulers that should be of ourselves, and Governors that should proceed from the midst of us.*"

The method of creating prejudice against the Church of England by coupling it with the Roman Church—the mystical Babylon—was a common expedient at that time; and it was freely indulged in by controversialists and agitators. Cotton Mather called on New England to be on guard against forms of prayer and ceremonies.

"There is one thing more to be Done for us; and I shall propound it in words like those of the Prophet, *Deliver thy self, O New-England, from every thing that may look like a Daughter of Babylon.* I have the confidence to tell you, That the *Mystical Babylon* is just entering into that Vintage which will cause horrible and fiery plagues to impend over the Heads of those that shall have the Superstitions of Popery polluting them. We cannot more consult our own Welfare than by such an entire and open Departure from Rome as the Holy God will speedily dispose the European World unto. I dare publish it, as my Humble Conjecture and Perswasion, That the last Slaughter of the Lord's Witnesses is over; and that we are got more than two years Depth, into those Earth Quakes which will shake yet, until they have shaken the Papal Empire to pieces, and shaken out the very Hearts of them, that shall not come out of her. If therefore we would be safe, at such a Time, the best thing to be Done is this, Let us not so much as Touch the Unclean Thing, or hide so much as a Rag or Pin of a Babylonish Garment with us. For the Children of this Countrey to maintain any part of the Romish Worship, would indeed be not only a wild Indiscretion, but also a vile Apostacie; and those persons are far from discerning the Signs of the Times, who think it worth the while for them to forego that Great Antipapal Principle, That no party of men whatever, calling themselves, The Church, have any just Authority, to appoint any parts or means of Divine Worship, which the Lord Jesus Christ has not in the Sacred Bible Instituted.

Let us keep the second Commandment, and our God will show Mercy to us, for more than one Generation. If we cannot find that any Forms of Prayer were used in any part of the Church until about Four Hundred years after Christ; nor any made for more than some single Province, until Six hundred Years; nor any imposed, until Eight hundred, when all manner of Abominations were introduced; surely it becomes Us to be particularly Averse unto such as may have somewhat worse than their Novelty, to create our suspicion of them; and it becomes us much more to be Non Conformists unto such other Church Rites therein advised, as was not so much as conceived, until the Man of Sin was born. Could I speak with a voice as loud as the last Trumpet, I should not fear to tell you, The God of our Fathers will blast that Worldly Wisdom which counts it a conveniency, for us to Dissemble our Non Conformity to whatever vain Worship, has nothing but the Tradition of man to Warrant it.”<sup>2</sup>

This discourse was widely disseminated; and had a powerful effect in deepening the prejudice against the Church of England.

Soon after the opening of the new Church, the Reverend Samuel Myles, and Messrs. Francis Foxcroft and Samuel Ravenscroft, the church-wardens, wrote a petition to the King citing the abuses which they had received as members of the Church of England.

“That tho’ since we have had the Liberty of our Religion we have endeavoured to carry ourselves Void of Offence to those that Dissent from us, and have at our own Charge Built and Erected a Convenient Church for the Publique Worship and Service of God; Yet such is the Mallice of our Dissenting Neighbours, that we are become the Object of their Scorn, and forced to take many Affronts and Indignities by them frequently offered to our Persons & Religion, which some of their principall Teachers have lately in a Printed Treatise charged to be Idolatry and Popery.”

They have lately witnessed “a Well Established & Orderly Government here Subverted and Overthrown;” the Governor, several of the Council, and the principal officers and persons seized and imprisoned. They are horrified by the occurrences; “so we are Resolved with patience to undergoe and suffer whatsoever shall be imposed upon us, and to maintain our Duty and Allegiance to your Majesties.” They hope that the Church of England “will not want Your Majesties favour and Countenance that it may grow up and Flourish and bring forth *Fruits of Religion* and Loyalty, to the Honour of Almighty God, and the Promotion and Increase of Your Majesties interest and Service.” They

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in Slafter: *John Checkley, I.*, pp. 23-25.

express their desire that they may not be left under that “*Anarchy and confusion* of Government under which this Country hath so long Groaned; but that the same may be Ruled and Governed, by a *Gouvernour & Council* to be appointed by your Maj. with the *Advice* of an *Assembly* of the People in matters proper for their Cognizance, as others Your Majesties Plantations are Ruled and Governed.”

In 1690, John Palmer published *An Impartial Account of the State of New England*, vindicating the Andros government. Regarding religious matters, he said :

“Tis the *Church of England* that hath most reason to complain, only you *cry whose first*: For at Sir *Edmond’s* Arrival, they were the only People destitute of a Place to Worship in, until, by Advice and Consent of the Council, the New Meeting House, in *Boston*, was borrowed, and made use of by them, but at inconvenient Hours; in the Morning after Eleven, and sometimes as their Service was prolong’d at Twelve; and after Four in the Afternoon, which with patience was endured, tho’ the Enmity of that People, to the *Church of England*, was such, that they grudged them that small accomodation, and shewed their uneasiness therein; which was soon removed, by the Gouvernour’s encouraging a Church to be built, and compleated in *Boston*, at the Charge of those of that Communion, where the Publick Worship, and Service of God hath been attended, until the last Insurrection, when the Minister was forced to leave the Countrey, and Church, for his own safety; And has not the Minister been before this publickly affronted, and hindered from doing of his Duty? What scandalous Pamphlets have been Printed to villifie the Liturgy? And are not all of that Communion daily called *Papist Doggs, and Rogues*, to their Faces? How often has the plucking down the Church been threatened? One while, it was to be converted to a School, and anon, ‘twas to be given to the *French Protestants*. And whos<sup>r</sup> will but take the Pains to survey the Glass Windows, will easily discover the Marks of a Malice not common; I believe ‘tis the first National Church, that ever lay under such great Disadvantages, in a Place, where those that dissent from her, ought to expect all things from her Grace and Favour.”<sup>3</sup>

In October, 1691, Massachusetts received her provincial charter. This put an end to the separate existence of the colony of New Plymouth. Said Justin Winsor :—

“These conditions created a new political atmosphere for Massachusetts. Religion and politics had in the old days gone hand in hand, and the little book which Joshua Scottow, one of

<sup>3</sup>*Andros Tracts (Prince Society), I., p. 33.*

the old patriarchs, now printed, *Old Men's Tears*, forcibly reminded them of the change. The community was more and more engrossed with trade; and those that concerned themselves with politics were not nearly so closely of one mind as formerly.”<sup>4</sup>

The New England theocracy had come to an end; and the Church of England could no longer be stifled by the strong arm of the law.

Soon various furnishings were acquired by King's Chapel. A brass standard for the hour-glass was given. King William the Third gave cushions, a carpet, a Bible, prayer books, an altar-cloth, and surplices to the Church. Soon afterwards, rich communion plate was sent over—two great silver flagons, one silver bason, one ewer. His Majesty made a special gift of one hundred pounds a year for an assistant minister. King's Chapel was the recipient of one of the large libraries sent in 1698, through the efforts of the Reverend Doctor Thomas Bray. That remarkable man was responsible for a large number of libraries, some of which were donated to the minister for his use and some of which were for the parish. To Boston he sent 221 books, valued at the time at £99/10s. For distribution there were several hundred tracts forwarded. The library contained lexicons, commentaries, the writings of the Church Fathers, sermons, historical works, and doctrinal treatises.<sup>5</sup>

The Reverend Mr. Myles spent four years in London—from 1692 to 1696. During that stay, he represented the conditions under which the Church was compelled to struggle; and many of the generous donations resulted from the interest which he created abroad. On the 4th of March, 1699, the Reverend Christopher Bridge arrived as the assistant of Mr. Myles. Bridge was a man of parts and a good preacher; but there was destined to be friction between the two clergymen.

On the 26th of May, 1699, Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, reached Boston, where he was to serve as governor of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, and New Jersey. The congregation of King's Chapel had already addressed him at New York, expressing the hope that he would look favourably on the Church. He remained in Massachusetts only fourteen months; but during that time, a state pew was fitted out for his accommodation in the Church, and he was made a vestryman. He was not a high churchman, though a conciliatory type of man. He prevented the passing of an act by the General Court, which would debar members of the Church of England from the office

<sup>4</sup>Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History*, V., pp. 92-93.

<sup>5</sup>Dr. Bray's Accounts, Part I., 1695-1699, pp. 19, 26, 28, 29 (Photofilm in the Library of Congress).

of president, vice-president, or fellow of Harvard College. He took an interest in the needs of the Church.

After the celebrated Doctor Thomas Bray, the donor of so many parochial libraries and the commissary of the bishop of London in the province of Maryland, returned to England, he made a report to the archbishop of Canterbury of conditions in America. In the course of his remarks regarding New England, he said in his *Memorial*:-

“Independency seems to be the Religion of (New England). True it is since a Church was opened at Boston about fifteen years agoe for the English Service, the Congregation of Church People are become very numerous; and the young Students of the College are sayd upon the Reading of our Episcopal Authors (against which they are narrowly watched by Mr. Mathers) to become not so ill affected to us, but that some of them would gladly receive their orders from the hands of Bishops if they could; and two of them have lately come over hither to be accordingly ordained. But my Design is not to intermeddle where Christianity under any form has obtained possession of the Country, but to represent rather the deplorable fate of the English Colonies, where they have been in a manner abandoned to Atheism, or which is as much as one, to Quakerism, for want of a Clergy settled amongst them.”<sup>6</sup>

In 1701, a layman’s library was sent to Boston by Doctor Bray; the value was £8/2s./4d. It was described in Bray’s *Bibliothecae Provinciales Americanae*, as sent August 14th of that year “to augment the library there for the use of the Church of England minister.” Besides the books on the Bible, the fathers, theology, homiletics, philosophy, and ethics, there were books on economics, history, mathematics, trade, and grammar.<sup>7</sup>

After the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was chartered (1701), the Reverend George Keith, formerly a Quaker divine, was sent on a tour of inspection, to determine the missionary needs and opportunities there existing. In passage he made a friend of the Reverend John Talbot, chaplain of the “Centurion;” and Talbot joined him in his survey, which extended from New Hampshire to North Carolina. On the reports made by these two men, the early policies of the Society—the S. P. G.—were largely devised. Keith arrived in Boston with Talbot, on the “Centurion,” June 11th, 1702. Governor Joseph Dudley came on the same vessel; and during the six weeks’ passage, the two clergymen were treated with great civility by the new governor. Dudley caused them to eat at his table throughout the voyage. Governor Lewis Morris of New Jersey was also a

<sup>6</sup>*Protestant Episcopal Historical Collections*, 1851, pp. 101-102.

<sup>7</sup>*Dr. Bray’s Accounts, Part II.*, p. 67; *Bibliothecae Provinciales Americanae*, II., pp. 3-19.

passenger. There could not have been a more fortunate introduction for the New Society's missionaries than the favour and patronage of two colonial governors. Keith reported the day after he landed, that Governor Dudley's "Conversation was both pleasant and Instructive, insomuch that the great Cabin of the Ship was like a Colledge for good Discourse both in matters Theological and Philosophical, and very cordially he joined daily with us in divine worship, & I well understand he purposeth to give all possible Encouragem<sup>t</sup> to the Congregation of the Church of England in this place"—Boston. "Also Col. Morris was very civil & kind to us, and so was the Captain of the Ship called the Centurion, and all the inferior officers, and all the Mariners generally, and good order was kept in the Ship, so that if any of the Seamen were complained upon to the Captain for profane Swearing, he caused to punish them according to the usuall Custom by causing them to carry a heavy wooden Collar about their neck for an hour that was both painful and shameful, and to my observation and knowledge several of the Seamen as well as the officers join'd devoutly with us in our daily Prayers, according to the Church of England and so did the other Gentlemen that were Passengers with us."<sup>8</sup>

Keith and Talbot were met and entertained by the Boston ministers, Messrs. Myles and Bridge. On June 14th, Keith preached in the Church—now the Queen's Chapel (since King William its royal patron had died, and Anne had succeeded him). There was "a large Auditory, not only of Church People, but of many others." Keith's sermon was printed; it contained six rules calculated to convert dissenters to the English Church. The Independent preachers were offended; and Doctor Increase Mather printed a reply. Keith published another treatise in rejoinder. On the 29th of November, 1702, he wrote the Society:

"The Independent Ministers at Boston have been greatly alarm'd at my coming into New England and greatly offended at those Presbyterian Ministers who intreated us to preach in their Pulpits. More particularly they are much troubled at my printed Sermon I lately preached at Boston some few days after my Arrivall on Eph: 2. 20, where I gave Six Rules for bringing people to Communion with the Church. M<sup>r</sup> Increase Mather has printed a very abusive Pamphlett against my six Rules, grossly reflecting on the Church of England, and charging her with Paganism, Judaism, Popery and Simony."<sup>9</sup>

Keith and Talbot remained about three weeks in Boston. On the 1st of July, Keith attended the commencement of Harvard College. The Reverend Samuel Willard presented a Calvinistic discourse on predestination on that occasion; and the next day Keith wrote him a letter in

<sup>8</sup>S. P. G. Series A, I., #9 (*Stevens & Brown Library of Congress transcript*).

<sup>9</sup>S. P. G. Series A, I., #50, (*Stevens & Brown Library of Congress transcript*).

Latin, contradicting his assertions. (The letter was afterwards translated, and distributed in New England and elsewhere.) Willard printed his reply; and Keith published another tract in answer. Colonel Lewis Morris wrote from Boston:

"I prevailed with Mr. Keith to stay here till our Commenc<sup>mt</sup> was over, where the good man met with very little university Breeding, and with less learning, but nothing disturbed him so much as the disagreeable doctrine he heard there maintained."<sup>10</sup>

All this time, Mr. Myles was busy developing his field. On the 8th of July, 1702, he wrote the lord bishop of Gloucester of the thriving state of his Boston Church. By the lending of books, such as Bishop King's *Inventions*, Doctor Beveridge's *Usefulness of the Common Prayer*, and other doctrinal and controversial treatises, "no small number of the Inhabitants are prevailed with to Petition for a Church Minister" in Swansea—his old home. He had taken pains to extend the influence of the Church in Rhode Island; there he had found the people of Narragansett "well disposed to receive a Minister of the Church of England," while those of Warwick and Providence had been brought "to some Complyance with the Church. I find them very ignorant and greatly prejudiced, so that much Prudence and Industry is requisite to accomplish any thing considerable."<sup>11</sup>

Myles was specially interested in planting the Church in Braintree. A clergyman, the Reverend William Barclay, was sent there in 1702, after Myles had presented the needs of the people there to the Venerable Society. A letter from Swansea to the archbishop of Canterbury, signed by Mr. John Brown (February 23rd, 1703), states:

"Mr. Myles of Boston has been very diligent & much concerned for our good settlem<sup>t</sup> and to inform our people in the way of our Church has not only several times preached among us, but put such Books . . . into the hands of the people in our Town, and having sent a considerable quantity of Books to me I Lent them severally according to his direction and my direction so that many among us are better informed than formerly by Mr<sup>r</sup> Myles assistance, who has likewise been unwearied in his endeavours for the good of the people in severall towns: and being of a kind and condescending temper is ready to embrace all occasions that may present to oblige people & has this advantage to recommend him above some others, that he has never been under the imputation of any scandal in the country (I have known him from his childhood)."<sup>11a</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Perry: *Historical Collections, Massachusetts*, p. 72.

<sup>11</sup>S. P. G. Series A, I., #xxvii. (*Stevens & Brown Library of Congress transcript*).

<sup>11a</sup>Perry: *Historical Collections, Massachusetts*, pp. 73-74.

Myles's interest in the spread of the Church throughout New England was expressed in a good deal of his correspondence. On the 4th of January, 1704, he wrote Archdeacon Beveridge, hoping that he would promote the sending of ministers to several towns. "The Dissenters are so busie and indefatigable that I fear the delay in sending ministers according to the Petitions may be Prejudicial."<sup>12</sup>

The relations between Mr. Myles and his assistant, Mr. Bridge, were strained from the beginning. The Reverend John Talbot declared that they were both excellent men and capable of doing good work, if separated. It seems probable that Bridge, as the recipient of a special royal stipend, was unwilling to submit to the status of a curate; he had made influential friends, and felt secure in his position. A journey which he made to England in the winter of 1703-1704 displeased Myles, who did not grant him leave of absence and who found himself encumbered with all the duties of the parish. He made his complaint; and the bishop of London ordered Bridge's removal, and deprived him of his royal bounty. The vestry became alarmed; and tried to reconcile the differences between the two clergymen. Articles of agreement were entered into on the 9th of August, 1706, defining the position of the ministers. In the correspondence that ensued, it would appear that the vestry were inclined to favour Mr. Bridge; but on the 12th of February, 1706, the bishop of London, despairing of a permanent reconciliation, wrote the vestry, advising that Mr. Bridge go to Narragansett, where he would still receive an amount equal to the royal bounty and would be his own master. He said that he felt that Bridge's "spirit is too high to submit to that subordination which it is absolutely necessarie he should comply with whilst he stayes at Boston." He reminded the vestry that Bridge was still Mr. Myles' assistant and curate, and "hath nothing more to do in the Church than what Mr. Myles shall direct him."<sup>13</sup>

Bridge took up his residence in Narragansett late in 1706. There too he was accused of infringing on the rights of other clergymen; and he did not remain long. He moved to Rye, New York, where he died May 23rd, 1719, much lamented.<sup>14</sup> The friction between him and Myles had a bad influence on the Churh in Boston, as Bridge had many sympathisers.

Two years later, the bishop of London sent another assistant to Mr. Myles. The rector of Queen's Chapel protested against this move, doubtless because of his painful experience with Mr. Bridge; and he wrote the Secretary of the S. P. G., December 16th, 1708, suggesting that it would be more advantageous for the minister to be sent to Brain-

<sup>12</sup>Perry: *Historical Collections, Massachusetts*, pp. 75-76.

<sup>13</sup>Greenwood: *History of King's Chapel*, p. 65.

<sup>14</sup>*Boston News-Letter*, June 1-8, 1719.

tree or Swansea than to Boston.<sup>15</sup> The bishop sought to avert unpleasantness between the two men by drafting instructions for the Reverend Henry Harris, who was appointed assistant.

"I have thought fit to declare that as he is not to go under the absolute command of M<sup>r</sup> Miles yet he is to pay a respect to him in all reasonable things and take an equal share with him in supplying the Church but not to meddle in any thing that relates to requisites whether for Marriage or Burials or Christenings and to be contented with what is allotted him from hence & by all means to avoid the insinuations of any that shall attempt to make matters uneasy betwixt him & M<sup>r</sup> Miles who I do likewise require to receive this his Assistant with all fair & good usage & that they both conspire so good an understanding that nothing may creep in to make a breach between them. And that they do agree to relate all stories that shall be whispered to them publickly in the next Vestry that such little make bates may be discouraged & made ashamed of such base behaviour."<sup>16</sup>

In 1710, the enlargement of Queen's Chapel was commenced. About that time, the singing of Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms was introduced. Formerly the clerk had been in the habit of giving out the psalm and leading it, reading it line by line, or selecting what was to be sung. Chanting was almost unknown in parish churches, belonging distinctively to cathedral worship. Yet even this inadequate music was far in advance of anything in the Puritan communities.

The Independents, though hampered in their efforts to oust the English Church, were by no means resigned to its presence in their midst. Criticisms were rife; and every effort was made to impede the progress of Anglicanism. About this time there was an ugly situation at Newbury, growing out of a dispute over the church property there. The Reverend Mr. Harris, in a letter to the bishop of London (January 7th, 1712), spoke of "the many Difficulties which y<sup>e</sup> Church labour's under in y<sup>e</sup> Charter Governments of New England, & the Independent's Universal Power in places of Trust; which as it keep's their Perswasion very much in countenance, so is it an equal discouragement to us."<sup>17</sup>

In 1712, Mr. Harris printed a preface to Archbishop King's "Inventions of Men in the Worship of God;" and in the course of his remarks made a personal allusion to Doctor Mather. He said that his critic repeated the old slanders and calumnies, which he could correct by reading; and he cautioned his readers against "Mr. Mather's popular

<sup>15</sup>Perry: *Historical Collections, Massachusetts*, p. 83.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 115-116.

<sup>17</sup>*Fulham MSS., Mass., Box II., #8 (Stevens & Brown Library of Congress transcript).*

tho' weak Insinuation, that the Fathers of the present Generation were Nonconformists, and their Dissent from the Mode of Worship in the Church of England was the cause of their Coming Over and Settling this Plantation; tho' it would be a sufficient answer to say, that Our Brethren have no more reason to continue in their Separation upon this score, than the Original inhabitants of the Country have for their brutish and savage way of living, viz., because they are accustomed to it." Doctor Mather was enraged. A controversy started; and several ministers had a share in it.

On the 29th of January, 1712, the Chapel asked the assistance of the bishop of London in finishing and enlarging the building. The petition stated that the present church was "Scarce Capable of containing the present Congregation, much less to Accomodate others, of the Inhabitants, who are well enclin'd to the Church, besides great Numbers of Persons who dayly resort hither from Europe, the West Indies, &c., who for want of room in the Church were Obliged to go elsewhere." Last summer Governor Francis Nicholson had obtained a grant of ground from the town and contributed generously, as did others; but the collections fell short. About seven hundred pounds had already been spent in the improvements.<sup>18</sup>

On Christmas day, 1712, Doctor Cotton Mather preached a sermon, entitled: "Grace Defended / A Censure on the Ungodliness, By which the Glorious Grace of God is too commonly Abused." He took this opportunity to censure the observance of Christmas by the members of the Church of England; and he waxed eloquent in his innuendoes.

"Can you in your *Conscience* think that our *Holy Saviour* is honoured by *Mad Mirth*, by long *Eating*, by hard *Drinking*, by lewd *Gaming*, by rude *Revelling*, by a *Mass*, fit for none but a *Saturn* or a *Bacchus*, on the Night of a *Mahometan Ramadam*."

The vestry of Queen's Chapel replied by publishing Mr. Harris's Christmas sermon, which was a plain, practical discourse, clear in statement and devout in spirit."<sup>19</sup>

The efforts which were made in some of the other colonies to secure a resident bishop for America were echoed in the Boston Church; and both Myles and Harris invoked the Queen's help in securing an episcopate for the colonies. In the perspective of two centuries, nothing seems more reasonable than that the members of the Church of England in this country should desire one close at hand empowered to ordain

<sup>18</sup> Fulham MSS., Mass., Box I., #11 (Stevens & Brown Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>19</sup> Slafter: *John Checkley*, I., pp. 100-101.

new ministers, to confirm their members, and to exercise supervision in general over the too loosely organised colonial Church. Yet no movement precipitated more determined opposition or bitter controversy than the efforts to obtain bishops before the War of the Revolution. In Boston the rumours of the attempts to obtain bishops caused anger and fear among the Independents. Though "there is nothing that could reasonably be objected to in the scheme there proposed for their functions and maintenance; no threats or ill feeling are manifested towards other communions, and no arbitrary methods are proposed as to the sources or the means of obtaining the funds," the prospect arouses alarm.<sup>20</sup> It may be said that the vestry of Queen's Chapel heartily supported the effort to obtain a bishop; and forwarded letters and representations to England on the subject.

In 1713, Thomas Brattle, a Boston merchant, left his organ to the Brattle Square Congregational Church, "if they shall accept thereof, and within a year after my decease procure a Sober person that can play skilfully thereon with a loud noise." The Brattle Square Church failed to comply with the conditions of the bequest; and the organ became the property of Queen's Chapel, which was made the second choice under the donor's will. Later it was sold to St. Paul's Church, Newburyport, Massachusetts; and in 1836, it was acquired by St. John's Church, Portsmouth. The vestry of Queen's Chapel employed Mr. Edward Enston of London as organist, at a salary of thirty pounds. He entered on his duties about Christmas, 1714, prior to which time Mr. Price had served as temporary organist.<sup>21</sup>

The churchmen of New England had long felt that Governor Dudley had not supported the Church as cordially as he might have done; and so we find the Reverend Mr. Myles writing, February 17th, 1714:

"I am humbly of opinion, the Church here, and also in other parts of the province, would increase much more under a Governor that was a constant communicant thereof, from whom we might reasonably expect all requisite protection and encouragement."<sup>22</sup>

Governor Nicholson was a distinguished patron of the Church, and won Myles' approbation.

In 1714, the Reverend Mr. Harris was chosen to go to London, to lay before the bishop the state of the Church. There had been

<sup>20</sup>Foot: *Annals of King's Chapel*, I., pp. 223ff. (quoting Dr. G. D. Ellis's Lowell lecture).

<sup>21</sup>Greenwood: *History of King's Chapel*, pp. 74-76.

<sup>22</sup>Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 1st series, VII., pp. 216-217.

much of a disagreeable nature in the outlying towns. Braintree had suffered under an unworthy priest, and the Newbury difficulties had been considerable. Even the clergymen were continually subjected to slights and discourtesies. Mr. Myles wrote commending his assistant.

"He has lived six years among us, in which time an Inoffensive Life and Conversation have made him Successfull and Beloved."<sup>23</sup>

The Church kept growing in the colony in spite of its unpopularity with a large element. It was found in 1722 that King's Chapel could not hold the people. On the 2nd of September, of that year, a parish meeting was convened to consider the building of another church. Subscriptions were solicited, and some generous gifts were the response. This was the beginning of Christ Church, Boston. On September 5th, Christ Church—the second Episcopal Church of the city—was organized at a meeting held in King's Chapel. The first rector was the Reverend Timothy Cutler, whose connections with Yale were severed because of his avowal of the Anglican position as opposed to Independency.

The Boston Episcopal Charitable Society was organized on Easter Monday, April 6th, 1724, by members of the two churches of the city. The motto was, *Dare quam accipere*; and in the constitution, it was stated:

"Whereas it often happens, that many persons, from being in Good Circumstances are Reduced (by the Providence of God) to so great Necessities as to need Charity; And whereas we are seldom without real Objects of Charity belonging to that truly Apostolick Church of England in which this Great Duty is so Earnestly Recommended, and in which it is so much Practised."

The good understanding which existed for some time between Mr. Myles and his assistant was destined to come to an end. Mr. John Checkley, afterwards a clergymen of the Church and a zealous protagonist of the Anglican position, printed a pamphlet in 1723 which proved the forerunner of considerable controversy. He dealt in such an uncompromising way with the validity of the Independents' ordination and their sacraments that he gave great offence. For instance, he alleged that the dissenters' ordinations were "not only invalid, but sacrilege, and rebellion against Christ . . . and if their ordinations are null, then their baptisms are so too, and all their ordinances. They

<sup>23</sup>*Fulham MSS., Mass., Box I., #136 (Stevens & Brown Library of Congress transcript).*

are out of the visible Church, and have no right to any of the promises in the gospel . . . When they receive (what they call) the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper in their congregations, they receive no sacraments, nor are their children baptized any more than if a midwife had done it."

On the 12th of April, 1724, the Reverend Mr. Harris preached a sermon in King's Chapel, condemning Checkley's book. Now Checkley in that day when feelings ran high had the support of the Reverend Mr. Myles and the vestry of King's Chapel; and Harris was summoned to attend a meeting of the vestry, on which occasion his sermon would be discussed. He declined to do so; but addressed a memorial to Lieutenant-Governor Dummer and the Council. With the leading Independents composing the Council, Harris was commended for the stand which he had taken. The churchmen believed that Harris had appealed to the Council in order to gain their interest and obtain their recommendations. Myles, in a letter to the Bishop of London (May 5th), declared that Harris's angry discourses had caused ill feeling; he had wounded and alienated his own people, while trying to curry the favour of the prominent dissenters. Myles felt that Harris should have given his help to the Church of England cause, at a time when so many attacks were being made upon it; when Checkley was being tried and subjected to fines; and when libels were being printed. In his letter of June 1st, Myles said:—

"Scandalous, and Insolent Books and Pamphlets are frequently write(n) here against Our Church and Constitution as by Law Established: And y<sup>e</sup> Government being intirely in y<sup>e</sup> Hands of Independents we have no Redress or Grievances nor Remedy for our Distress."<sup>24</sup>

Another letter (June 9th), in which the vestry joined, insinuated that Harris's rebellious attitude was due to his chagrin, at not being appointed minister of the new Christ Church, to which Mr. Cutler had been assigned. "The Short of the Matter is, this Gentleman would willingly raise himself, tho' on the Ruin of the Churches in this Place." The hope was expressed that Harris would be removed.<sup>25</sup>

Certainly Harris took up the cudgel against Mr. Cutler. He wrote to the bishop of London, accusing the new rector of Christ Church of alienating the dissenters by his "wild and extravagant notions" and "uncharitable" principles.

<sup>24</sup>*Fulham MSS., Mass., Box II., #48 (Stevens & Brown Library of Congress transcript).*

<sup>25</sup>*Fulham MSS., Box I., #127 (Stevens & Brown Library of Congress transcript).*

"I declined having any intimate conversation with him, lest his principles should be thought to be espoused by all of our Communion, and so the whole Church should suffer thro' the indiscretion of one man."

Harris declared that he himself had not sought to gain the dissenters "by any sinister acts, or made 'em any concessions, either in doctrine or discipline, but used the strongest reasons (he) could think of to convince their understandings, and the softest words with the most affable courteous behaviour to attract their esteem and engage their affections, commending the purity of their morals, and desiring their perfection in a union with our truly primitive and apostolic Church."<sup>26</sup>

Harris and Cutler preached against each other, and indulged in personalities. The news of the ill feeling which existed among the Boston clergy reached the bishop of London; and he wrote to Mr. Myles, in the hope of effecting a reconciliation. In the meantime, the Church was put in a difficult position. Myles wrote the bishop, June 25th, 1724:—

"Twill not be to any Purpose to send Missionaries *here*, when y<sup>e</sup> People of this province are *inveterately* prejudiced agt y<sup>e</sup> Church by y<sup>e</sup> spreading of such pamphlets far and near. . . . Mr Harris almost in every Sermon makes such scurrilous Reflections, and bitter Invectives, y<sup>t</sup> I am afraid my Church will dwindle to nothing, if he be not provided for in England, or ordered to settle in some other Place of this Continent, where he may be of service."<sup>27</sup>

Myles and the vestry of King's Chapel definitely took Mr. Cutler's side in the quarrel between Harris and Cutler. Myles wrote the bishop of London that, if Harris would keep a good temper, all would be quiet; that Cutler had borne all his affronts patiently until Harris reflected in afternoon on his morning's sermon. "I am very sensible our Enemies take great Advantage from our Feuds, and Animosities."<sup>28</sup> Mr. Myles and the wardens and vestrymen of King's Chapel signed a testimonial, vouching for Mr. Cutler rather than for their own assistant; they declared "that the Reverend Doctor Timothy Cutler hath to the best of our Knowledge, Ever Since his declaring for the Church of England to this Instant behav'd himself, after a becoming and inoffensive manner, to all orders and degrees of men in this place, more Especially towards the Reverend M<sup>r</sup> Henry Harris, And neglected no

<sup>26</sup>Perry: *Historical Collections, Massachusetts*, p. 156.

<sup>27</sup>Fulham MSS., Box I., #14 (Stevens & Brown Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>28</sup>Fulham MSS., Mass., Box II., #34 (Stevens & Brown Library of Congress transcript).

measures proper for a Clergyman, a Christian or a Gentleman, to use for gaining the Said Mr Harris's good will and to Live peaceably with him.”<sup>29</sup> The differences between Harris and Cutler continued for some time; and Mr. Myles made repeated efforts to become relieved of his uncongenial curate.

The Independents started making plans for a synod of their own; and on May 27th, 1725, Doctor Cotton Mather signed a proposal embodying their intentions:—

“At a general Convention of Ministers from several parts of the province at Boston, 27<sup>th</sup> May 1725 . . .

“Considering the great and visible decay of piety in the Country, and the Growth of many miscarriages, which we may fear have provoked the Glorious Lord, in a law, in a series of various judgments wonderfully to distress us; Considering also the laudable example of our predecessors to recover and establish the faith and order of the Gospel in the Churches and provide against what immoralitys might threaten to impair them in the way of general Synods convened for that purpose and considering that about Forty Five years have now rolled away since these Churches have now seen any such conventions, it is humbly desired, that the Honored General Court would express their concern for the great interests of Religion, in the Country, by calling the several churches in the province to meet, by their Pastors, and Messengers, in a Synod, and from thence offer their advice upon that weighty case which the circumstances of the day do loudly call to be considered: what are the miscarriages whereof we have reason to think the judgment of heaven upon us call us to be generally sensible, and what may be the more evangelical and effectual expedients to put a stop unto those or the like miscarriages.”

Such a proposal, framed in general terms, carried with it potentialities which the Church of England members did not fail to recognize. It was plain that the Congregational churches, which had been the established order under the old charter government, were conscious of the presence and power of the English Church and wished to show that they were still the state religion of Massachusetts. They had never ceased to exert their power in court and politics, and in the moulding of public opinion; they had used forcible means to suppress Checkley and to influence legislation. Experience had taught the Anglicans that the proposed synod meant an effort to establish an independent ecclesiastical influence which would control civil affairs. In the past, five such synods had been held—the first in 1637, the last in

<sup>29</sup>*Fulham MSS., Mass., Box I., #5 (Stevens & Brown Library of Congress transcript).*

1687. The first had condemned eighty-two errors of religious opinion; and by the general assembly, some persons were banished. The General Court had been induced to enact laws against those who differed from the dominant party. Hence the churchmen feared the effect of such a synod. As the creature of the General Court, it would hold great authority. "It might deal with principles of faith, modes of life and conduct, and with the government and orders. If the proceedings of the proposed synod should be ratified by the government, as they were most sure to be, it might abridge and limit the liberty of all Christian bodies except that of the congregational order; in fact, it might and doubtless would have constituted that body the established church of the province of Massachusetts Bay."<sup>30</sup>

Myles and Cutler filed a memorial against holding the synod, addressed to Governor William Dummer and the Council (to whom the proposal signed by Doctor Mather had been addressed). The Anglican clergymen protested against the same, as "comprehending the Churches of England, wherein the petitioners have no right to intermeddle."

"We have little reason to expect that in such a synod (the Church of England) will be treated with that Tenderness and respect which is due to an established Church."

They argued that the synod would prejudice the people against the English Church. "As the Episcopal ministers of the province are equally concerned with the petitioners for the purity of faith and manners, it is disrespectful to them not to be consulted in this important affair." It was likewise improper, they contended, to move without the consent of the bishop of London and King George, since the American colonies are annexed to the diocese of London.

"Whereas by Royal Authority the Colonies in America are annexed to the Diocese of London, & inasmuch as nothing can be transacted in ecclesiastical matters without the cognizance of the Bishop, we are humbly of opinion that it will neither be dutiful to his most sacred Majesty King George nor consistant with the rights of our Right Reverend Diocesan to encourage or call the said Synod until the pleasure of His Majesty shall be known therein."

The petition of Myles and Cutler was rejected, and referred to the next General Court. "Whereas this Memorial contains an indecent reflection on the proceedings of this Board, with groundless ensinuations—Voted that it may be dismissed." Meanwhile the two

<sup>30</sup>Slater: *John Checkley, I.*, p. 87.

Anglican clergymen had written to the bishop of London on the subject.

The bishop submitted his opinion on the proposed synod to the Duke of Newcastle. He expressed his belief that the Independents of New England were no more than a federal ministry and people. By the Act of Union (VI. Ann. cap. v.), "every King and Queen at their Coronation shall take and subscribe an oath to maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the Church of England, and the Doctrine, Discipline, Worship, and Government thereof as by law established within the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, the dominion of Wales and town of Berwick upon Tweed, and the Territories thereunto belonging. If by this clause the Ministers and people of the Church of England in the Plantations be made the established Church within the several Governments, then all the rest are only tolerated as here in England, and if so this double ill use may be made of by permitting the Independent Ministers of New England to hold a regular Synod. The established Clergy here may think it hard to be debarred of a Liberty which is indulged the Tolerated Ministers there, and the tolerated ministers here may think it equititable that their privileges should not be less than those of their Brethren in England."

The Lord Justices at Whitehall reproved Lieutenant-Governor Dummer for not consulting the proper authorities; and stated that the attorney and solicitor general "cannot collect that there is any regular establishment of a national or Provincial church there, so as to warrant the holding of convocations or synods of the clergy." The synod was forbidden, to the chagrin of the Independents.<sup>31</sup>

The letter of Myles to the bishop of London, October 14, 1725, reveals the state of feeling.

"All possible Care is taken Early to instill Prejudices against y<sup>e</sup> Church's for y<sup>t</sup> Purpose not onely y<sup>e</sup> Bookes I sent and many others, are put into th<sup>r</sup> Hands, and Young Students are earnestly exhorted to read mark and digest 'em, and reinforce y<sup>e</sup> Arguments on th<sup>r</sup> Minds. And besides y<sup>e</sup> Ministers are unwaried in the Applications to th<sup>r</sup> Parents and Friends to exert th<sup>r</sup> Authority and vehemently urge Not to depart from y<sup>e</sup> Religion of th<sup>r</sup> Forefathers, and by no means conform to y<sup>e</sup> Corruptions and Humane Unscriptural Inventions, w<sup>ch</sup> they protested against, and left the Native Countrey to free themselves from y<sup>e</sup> Mischief of Imposition."<sup>32</sup>

The same year six of the New England clergymen, including Mr.

<sup>31</sup>Slafter: *John Checkley, I*, pp. 86-93.

<sup>32</sup>Fulham MSS., Mass., Box II., #51 (Stevens & Brown Library of Congress transcript).

Myles, drew up a memorial to the S. P. G., giving a favourable account of their congregations, but complaining of annoyance and oppression. They spoke of the imprisonments for non-payment of taxes for the support of dissenting teachers; and they prayed for a resident bishop who might protect the interests of the Church and give spiritual guidance. The same men forwarded a petition to the King in Council. They discussed the background of their present grievances. Charles the First had granted a charter to Massachusetts Bay, which was afterwards vacated by a judgment in chancery "on account that the said Colony had then a little before taken upon them to attempt to set up an established provincial religion by attempting to call Synods, &c." Upon the vacating of the said charter, a new one was granted by William and Mary, whereby their said Majesties ordained liberty of conscience in worship to all Christians except Papists. This charter empowered the General Court to make all wholesome and reasonable laws not repugnant to the laws of England for the good of the province and the government thereof. The General Court was empowered to levy reasonable taxes on the estate and persons of the inhabitants, and to dispose of matters and things whereby their Majesties' subjects might be religiously, peaceably, civilly governed, protected, and defended, "as their good life and orderly conversation might win the natives to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Christian Religion, which, and the adventurer's free profession, the Charter declares to be the principal end of the said plantation." But the Independents, being more numerous than the Church of England people (to whom the charter allowed "at least equal rights"), became masters of the laws and ministers of the privileges of the said charter; and having forgotten the liberty of conscience thereby granted, "they have eluded the said Charter and disappointed the rest of Your Majesty's loyal subjects in the said Province of the benefit thereof, and having absolutely the ascendant of the established church . . . have taken upon themselves to pass Laws tending to the very great prejudice and oppression of the members of the Church of England and the rest of the Inhabitants of the said Colony." By a series of acts, which the petitioners reviewed and explained, the Independents had succeeded in establishing their religion, compelling the Church of England adherents to support their Congregationalist teachers, and rendering it almost impossible in some places for the English Church to be set up.

"That the said Independents having passed the aforesaid Laws in direct opposition to their said Charter and to the Laws and Constitution of this Kingdom, in order to oppress the Church of England people and other Christian Inhabitants conscientiously differing from the said Inhabitants, and having, by

the said Act of 1715, vested an illegal power in themselves of determining who should be ministers under the Qualifications aforesaid, and of appointing Ministers of their own perswasion and imposing them and their maintenances on all your Majesty's subjects, even those of their Mother Church. To compleat their designs, under the said Laws, they set up themselves for, and acted as, an established Church, and very lately took upon them, as such, to erect a Synod, but which was taken notice and condemned and disallow'd of by your Majesty."

The petitioners stated that they, as ministers of the Church of England and missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, "have laid a very fair Foundation of instructing great numbers of the Inhabitants there in the Doctrines and Principles of the Church of England . . . and should have made a much greater progress, but for the oppressions and hardships which they continually received from the Independants, in the said Province, which they continued daily to exercise towards your petitioners and all that become members of their congregations, by unwarrantably rating and assessing them for the support and maintenance of the Independent Teachers, and for the repairing and building the Independent Meeting Houses, and in default of payment, by distraining their goods and laying their persons in actual imprisonment, and using all methods possible to discourage the Inhabitants from embracing our government, doctrine and liturgy, whereby the members of our Churches are miserably distressed by the force and violence that is used upon their Persons and Estates in case of the least refusal or delay to contribute to the support of the dissenting Teachers and their meeting houses; and on which account, at least thirty of the members of the Church of England have been imprisoned at one time in one Town; and which your Petitioners humbly represent to your Majesty as the greatest obstacle to the encreasing of the Members of the Church of England in that Province, it not being to be expected that tho' in their heart the Inhabitants are entirely disposed to the Doctrine of the Church of England, that they should openly come into that profession, under which, as matters now stand, they cannot have protection, but are liable to imprisonment and all the distresses of the persecuting resentm<sup>t</sup> of the Governing Power there, which is vested in the Independants, with whom the Church of England Professors are not at present even upon a level."

They desired, therefore, to lay such acts before the King in Council for his royal consideration, hoping that he would repeal them. First, no national or provincial church was by charter established in the province, but an extensive and universal liberty of conscience to all Christians except Papists. Secondly, said acts set up an independency

above the King's other subjects and above the Church of England in particular; and take away liberty of conscience, security of religion, and invade the civil liberties and properties. Thirdly, the General Court has no power to make any laws imposing anything relating to any particular form of worship, or assessing the Protestants of one denomination in support of those of another. Lastly, great distresses have been brought upon the Mother Church by the rigid manner of executing the said laws.<sup>33</sup>

In all these contests with a determined and unyielding Independent element, when the Church of England was having to fight for every right and privilege, there were two clergymen who never lent their hearty co-operation, and who seemed ready to stand in the way of every movement which Mr. Myles and the other aggressive churchmen made. These two men were the assistants at King's Chapel, the Reverend Henry Harris, and the missionary at Marblehead, the Reverend David Mossom. On the 7th of December, 1725, they sent their own memorial to the bishop of London. They had not gone to Rhode Island, where their six brother-clergymen had met, as they felt it would be improper to go into a Quaker government; besides the minister there, the Reverend Mr. Honyman, had refused the oaths tendered by the government as a test of his allegiance.

"We are thoro'ly sensible that many of the difficulties & troubles we are now exposed to, the nearer influences of a Bishop might skreen us from; but these we bear with as little complaint as may be, no ways doubting but that when it shall be found for the interest of the Church in the British Plantations & for the honour of the See of London some expedient will be provided. . . . It arises from a sense of humble duty & modesty that we do not expressly pray a Bishop may be fixt among us, because you & not we are the most competent judge of what will make most for the service of the Church in general, our being at once cut off or still continued a branch of the See of London."<sup>34</sup>

The petition of the six clergymen was lodged in the Council Office. Later it was referred to a Committee of the Privy Council. Two months afterwards, by order of that Committee, it was referred to the consideration of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantation. On November 14th, 1727, the Lords Commissioners wrote a letter to the King's attorney and solicitor general for their opinion, regarding three acts of the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay which had been confirmed by the Crown, and of which the clergy of the English Church had com-

<sup>33</sup>Perry: *Historical Collections, Massachusetts*, pp. 191-200.

<sup>34</sup>Perry: *Historical Collections, Massachusetts*, pp. 200-202.

plained as being passed contrary to the New England charter. It does not appear that the attorney and solicitor general ever made any report or that any further proceedings occurred.<sup>35</sup>

The bishop of London was distressed over the difference that existed between the Reverend Mr. Myles and his assistant; and he wrote letters to other clergymen to find the cause. The Reverend Mr. Mossom, who had sided with Harris, replied, January 7th, 1726, saying that "Time must be left to effect what Religion and Prudence enjoin." Harris had tried to make peace, he said. Once the Reverend Mr. Cutler and Harris had met in company with some friends; and a reconciliation was proposed and consented to, and the means of notifying the bishop of the same was decided by a letter to be signed jointly. Cutler was to draw up the letter; and the parties were to meet at the house of Mr. Myles on a prayer day before going to Church, and sign it. The letter was drafted, and sent to Harris, who approved and returned it. Harris went to Mr. Myles's, to sign it; there he met Cutler, who refused to sign it himself, although he had drawn up the paper. Thus the effort failed. Cutler afterwards said that he would have signed it, if Myles had been willing. Mr. Mossom said that Myles had fallen out with every clergymen who had ever come into those parts and settled near him; "he is firmly attach'd to the high flying Party;" he is "of a querulous & invidious temper, for I verily think that there has not been a Man in his Company an hour together, for years past, but some part of his Discourse has turned upon Reflections on his Brethrens wealth, and complaints of his own Poverty."<sup>36</sup>

On the 2nd of May, 1726, the Reverend Messrs. Myles and Cutler, and five other New England clergymen—Harris and Mossom not being in the number—convened at Boston, and discussed the problems of Church. A letter was drawn up to the bishop of London, acknowledging their obligation for his "paternal Care and Endeavours to procure a Bishops being sent over into these Country's." A bishop is needed "to protect us from the Frowns of the Charter Governments . . . To direct our Conduct in our Churches and to one another. To oblige the unruly and the Insolent to observe their Duty, and preserve the Dignity of their Characters. To confirm our Youth and for many other ends and Reasons." They found themselves distressed by fines and imprisonments, if they scrupled to contribute to the support of dissenting teachers.<sup>37</sup>

Under the Act of 1642, the "teaching elders" of Boston and five

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 202.

<sup>36</sup>*Fulham MSS., Mass., Box II., #42 (Stevens & Brown Library of Congress transcript).*

<sup>37</sup>*Fulham MSS., Mass., Box I., #141 (Stevens & Brown Library of Congress transcript).*

other townsmen were constituted members of the Board of Overseers of Harvard. Still no Anglican minister except the Reverend Mr. Harris, who was popular among non-churchmen, had ever been admitted to the deliberations; and even Mr. Harris had never been notified since Cutler became a member of the Church of England and left Yale. It had been expressly voted that Cutler was not entitled to a seat. On the 15th of June, 1727, the Reverend Messrs. Myles and Cutler sent a written enquiry to the overseers, to know how they had forfeited title. When the overseers replied that they had never had the right, the two clergymen memorialised the General Court, "asking redress . . . for the wrongs they had sustained in being excluded, as ministers of the Church of England, from the inspection and ordering of Harvard College." The petition was signed by about seventy Episcopal gentlemen, who claimed that the college was "the common nursery of piety and learning" to all parties in New England, and should be in charge of all. The overseers replied that the words "teaching elders" meant "in this country, from the very beginning, the pastors and teachers of a complete Congregational church,—the very same which the Scriptures call by the name of bishops; who have full power both of teaching and administering the sacraments, and of ruling in the said church." It was also stated, that "for above fifty years after the settlement of the colony there was no minister, magistrate, or representative in the General Court, professedly of the Church of England; and for above forty years after the act constituting the college there were no other teaching elders, except those of Congregational churches then in being in the country;" and that "all the insinuations of the memorialists about their being teaching elders are groundless and vain, because no such denomination as 'teaching elder' can be found attributed to ministers of the Church of England."

Myles and Cutler replied to this decision with arguments; but they were not successful. The Reverend Mr. Harris stood aloof. Cutler did his best to carry on the struggle; he asked the S. P. G. to interfere in England, and he importuned Governor Burnet to present the case.<sup>38</sup>

On the 20th of July, 1727, Myles and Cutler and four other New England ministers met in their annual convention. The college situation was discussed. It was remarked that the Episcopal clergymen were not notified to meet with the Overseers of Harvard, because the growth of the Church is regarded with envy. Both Harvard and Yale are operated in direct opposition to the Church; both colleges "strike an Insupportable Damp on the minds of all our Young Students." The discrimination against the Church was evident.

<sup>38</sup>Perry: *Historical Collections, Massachusetts*, pp. 212-216.

"Persons of unquestionable Zeal against us are promoted in all places. . . . The Laws to bind us to the Support of Dissenting Teachers are yet in force, and executed accordingly; and where any Pretence of Lenity is made it is in such thin Colours as may be easily seen thro; and appears no Security to us from those Hardships our churches have a long time, and do still complain of and groan under."<sup>39</sup>

At this meeting, a letter was written to the secretary of the S. P. G., urging the need of bishops and the repeal of laws taxing churchmen, and reiterating the right to share in the government of the college. The ministers stated that there was a "great reformation in life and manners; and vice and immorality, rampant heretofore, do now begin to disappear." The Lord's Day was more strictly kept; and swearing, drinking, and debauchery were restrained "more from the awe of Religion than the laws of Government;" and "that these things are owing to the settlement of the Church in these parts is not only with joy acknowledged by her friends, but is plainly allowed by her Enemies both in principles and morals, in their grief, envy, and united opposition to it."<sup>40</sup>

Mr. Myles had fresh occasion to complain of the insolence of his assistant, September 26th, 1727. He said that Harris had spent a quarter of an hour railing at him from the pulpit; he had told him on the street that he was on an equal footing with him, and had as much to do in the Church as he had. Myles stated that Harris had threatened him with the law for accusing him of cheating in his trade and dealings. "I told him if the Course he desired was to thrash me, I told him as old as I was I doubted not but I cou'd defend myself." Myles appealed to the bishop of London, to instruct Mr. Harris not to transgress his line or invade the rector's rights.<sup>41</sup>

This unfortunate condition must have had an unwholesome effect. From the evidence in hand, it is easy to make conjectures. Unfriendly critics might blame Myles as jealous of his prerogatives and inclined to be suspicious and morbid; they might see in Harris a man ambitious of winning popularity and perhaps not unwilling to supplant his superior in the favour of the city. It should be borne in mind, however, that the whole of Myles's ministry had been beset by opposition and unfriendliness. The ceaseless efforts of the Independents to frustrate the progress of the Church and impede its movements must have made him suspicious and querulous. Furthermore, he was a sickly man.

<sup>39</sup>Fulham MSS., Mass., Box I., #103 (Stevens & Brown Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>40</sup>Perry: *Historical Collections, Massachusetts*, p. 224.

<sup>41</sup>Fulham MSS., Mass., Box II., #47 (Stevens & Brown Library of Congress transcript).

On the 2nd of February, 1728, Myles notified his parishioners that, because of his "very low and languishing condition," he must ask them to procure a curate from London. In fact, he had ceased his active duties since summer.<sup>42</sup> A few days later (February 10th), about ninety of the members of King's Chapel signed a petition to the bishop of London, that Mr. Harris be allowed to succeed Myles, who was sick with cancer. There was some opposition to the appointment; Mr. Checkley and others had no desire to see Harris as rector.

Myles passed away, probably March 1st, 1728. He was buried on the 8th, with a costly funeral. Sewall noted the same in his diary; and the newspaper recorded it as follows:—

"On Fryday last was decently and honourably Interred the Rev. Mr. Samuel Miles who dyed on Fryday the 1st Instant, in the 65th Year of his Age. The Pall was Supported by the Rev. Mr. Honeyman of Rhode-Island, Mr. Plant of Newbury, Mr. Pigot of Marblehead, Mr. Macsparron of Narragansett, Mr. Miller of Brantry, and Mr. Watts appointed for and bound to Annapolis-Royal. The Rev. Dr. Cutler led the Widow; the Rev. Mr. Harris walk'd before the Corpse and buried it. The Corpse was also followed by his Honour the Lieut. Governour and Council, the Justices, and the Disenting Ministers of the Town, together with a vast Number of Gentlemen, Merchants, &c."<sup>43</sup>

Mr. Myles had faithfully served his people; and though his relations with his assistants and with the Independents had not been pleasant at all times, there is no reason to doubt his sincerity and industry. He lived in strenuous times; and men of a less assertive turn would probably have forfeited such advantages as the Church was entitled to under the law. His opponents were ever on the alert; and he had little opportunity to cultivate repose and gentleness. That he was not looking for trouble where none existed and that he was not inclined to stir up strife may be surmised from the fact that he published no controversial pamphlets, although his ministry coincided with a bitter and virulent period of partisan authorship. He was the first Episcopal clergyman of New England education, and probably of New England birth. He had witnessed the growth of King's Chapel to the stage where it had offshoots in three Massachusetts towns and one in Boston. He must have been a worthy, pious man, and a good preacher.

<sup>42</sup>Greenwood: *History of King's Chapel*, p. 86.

<sup>43</sup>*New England Weekly Journal*, March 11, 1728. (See Sewall's *Diary*, III., p. 391).

## HISTORY OF THE CHURCH DIVINITY SCHOOL OF THE PACIFIC

*By Henry H. Shires\**

**T**HE beginnings of theological education in the West lay largely with three men, James Lloyd Breck, George W. Gibbs and William Ford Nichols.

During the early years of Bishop Kip's episcopate, in the fifties and sixties, it is a matter of record that his thoughts often ran toward theological education in the West as a means of solving the problem of an ever-pressing need for men. He was so engrossed, however, in his pioneering activities that he did nothing about it.

At the same time, however, away to the East in Minnesota an amazing man with the soul of the pioneer, James Lloyd Breck, had a dream of doing for California what he had done for Wisconsin and Minnesota. The builder of Nashotah and the Faribault Mission felt that with his work there accomplished he must follow the setting sun to the new frontier, which he felt to be California. His plan was bold and forward-looking and in large measure he was able to put it into effect. Accompanied by three other clergymen who were to form the nucleus of an associate mission, and other lay helpers and students, he arrived in California in November of 1867. The part of his ambitious plan which is of concern to theological education is the founding of the Missionary College of St. Augustine at Benicia by January 20, 1868. This educational project included a college and grammar school for boys, and also a divinity school which probably had been the germ of the whole idea. The faculty consisted largely of Dr. Breck and his ordained associates. Five students for the divinity school had been brought from the East and a sixth member was added when a promising young Methodist clergyman sought orders in the Church.

Unfortunately the divinity school was short-lived. In 1870 the college and divinity school were eliminated from the program owing largely to lack of financial support and the collapse of other features of the Mission.

Among the trustees of St. Augustine's divinity school and college was a layman of large means, George W. Gibbs, of San Francisco.

\**Dean of the School.*

His interest in theological education, awakened probably by Breck, did not lapse with the closing of the divinity school but rather grew and developed with the passing years. In fact so strong was his conviction that there ought to be work of this character in the West that after the University of California was established at Berkeley he approached Bishop Kip with the offer of a piece of land for a divinity school near the University, if the bishop would undertake the project. The offer was not accepted because at this time, during the late seventies, many other more immediate problems needed solution.

Meanwhile, as an indication that the problem of developing a native ministry was giving concern to other laymen, Robert K. Eastman, a communicant of the Church in Stockton, bequeathed a sum of \$35,000 to the diocese of California to be used exclusively for assisting young men of the West to receive theological training. This fund was to be administered by the bishop and standing committee of the diocese of California which at that time included the whole state.

Here the effort rested until the coming of the young, energetic and statesmanlike Dr. William Ford Nichols as the second bishop of California in 1890. Two years after he arrived, in his convention address, Bishop Nichols challenged the Church in California to face some of the problems consequent to building the Church in a new country, chief of which was to make "provision for the establishment of a training school for students in theology". This was not the first time this matter had come before the convention. When the canons of the diocese were adopted at the first convention in 1851 a canon was passed which said that "the diocesan institutions should be a college and a theological seminary". This canon and its other provisions were dropped in 1853 as too premature and visionary. Bishop Nichols' vigorous leadership was supported by the clergy and the laity, some of whom had long seen the need and desired to do something about it. He probably had no idea that matters would shape up as quickly as they did, however. A survey of possible sites for a divinity school was begun a few weeks after the convention on an "if, as and when" basis. George W. Gibbs, who for long had a real and intelligent interest in the project, offered the bishop as a site for the proposed school a four-acre tract of land in the city of San Mateo, about twenty miles south of San Francisco. There was a sizeable building on it formerly used as an orphanage which could be readily adapted to divinity school purposes. The offer was accepted and the first obstacle to the realization of the project overcome. It was thought that the site thus secured was particularly felicitous because of its location between the

two great universities of Stanford and California, whose resources would thus in some way be available to the students.

The reasons that made the establishment of a divinity school in the far West imperative, as advanced at this time, can well be recapitulated. The first consideration was the distance of this section from the East. The problem of securing men for the many fields that were rapidly developing in the West was complicated by the expense involved in travel, difficulty in getting the proper men to leave the East, where the strength of the Church lay, and the further difficulty of personal interviews on the part of bishop and vestries with those who expressed their willingness to come. Also the expense in sending men East for theological education was not an inconsiderable factor. Moreover, through sad experience it was found that many of those who were sent away for training failed to return.

The chief reason which led to the effort to establish a western divinity school was the conviction on the part of the leadership in the West that the Church could never realize its full potentialities until it had begun to supply itself in large measure with a native ministry. It was pointed out that from its beginning the Church with unerring instinct had striven to develop native leadership in every new field it entered. A Church which had to draw its clergy from afar or to send them to a distance for training was at a disadvantage, and would remain so while this condition lasted.

It was also pointed out that the West was too far away from the other seminaries to share in the stimulus which a seminary offers to the clergy already in the field. The presence of a theological institution with its faculty of trained men, its library and its research activities, could only supply that integration of religious activity which a field so vast and remote as the West needed for its fuller life.

All this was the mature judgment not only of the Church in California, but also of all the bishops then (1892) at work in the West. In a prospectus for the school called "Document No. 1" a statement calling attention to the necessity for such a school was signed by the bishops of Oregon, Wyoming, Idaho, Nevada and Utah, Arizona and New Mexico, Olympia and Spokane.

At the General Convention in 1892 much encouragement was given Bishop Nichols to proceed with the contemplated seminary. Bishops and delegates from the Pacific Slope showed themselves keenly interested. What was still more to the point was the offer by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan to give \$20,000 to endow a professorship to be known as the Bishop John Williams Professorship. In the spring of 1893 George W. Gibbs, whose interest had already been so generously mani-

fested, added to his gift of land and building, \$20,000 for the endowment fund.

It was then concluded that there was sufficient support in sight to begin the work. Accordingly a call was issued for students and a small faculty assembled to start off the life of the school in October of 1893. Dr. James Otis Lincoln, a graduate of Harvard and the Berkeley Divinity School, was called to be the first professor. Bishop Nichols assumed the duties of dean and the Reverend William I. Kip, grandson of Bishop Kip and a young man of brilliance, was called to be the third member of the original faculty. St. Luke's Day was set for the actual opening of the school because it was hoped that the school would furnish many men for the missionary effort of the Church.

In the chapel of the school, one of the rooms of the former orphange, the enterprise was launched with only nine people present. Bishop Nichols celebrated and Dr. Lincoln was the gospeller and Reverend W. I. Kip the epistoler. The first student, G. M. Cutting, arrived an hour or so after the service. It was a small beginning but the significance of it was not lost on the community as a whole. A ginning its comment with the words: "An important event in the history full column was devoted by the San Francisco *Call* to the story, be- of the Protestant Episcopal Church took place yesterday at San Mateo when the new divinity school was opened to the use of students by Bishop Nichols. The ceremonies were unostentatious. Indeed they were the beginning of things rather than a formal opening."

The subsequent history of the school can well be treated by dividing it into three sections, each to cover its life in the three places of its abode. For eighteen years it remained in San Mateo, then it removed to San Francisco for nineteen years, and for twelve years it has been in Berkeley. In a way each move marks a stage in its progress and a change of emphasis. The first period marks the experiment of theological education in the quiet of a suburban and, at the time, almost rural community, free from the busy hum of urban life. This seemed rather idyllic to the San Francisco *Call*. In his comment the reporter said, "It is charmingly situated in large grounds. The perfect quiet of its surroundings is admirably conducive to study". Its removal to San Francisco, in part at least, represents a feeling that training for the ministry can better be had in the heart of a great city. The removal to Berkeley represents the feeling that a more favorable atmosphere than the country or city is the academic community. We shall endeavor to trace the life of the school in these three differing environments.

In the San Mateo days the school took on the character which

we have reason to assume the bishop desired it to have. Bishop Nichols had been profoundly influenced by the type of education which he experienced at Berkeley Divinity School, then in Middletown, Connecticut, a small, quiet community like San Mateo. Undoubtedly, he wanted to reproduce all this in California. The very name, "Divinity School", the character of the community selected for the California project, the language of the school prayer, can be traced to this desire. More particularly, as Bishop Williams of Connecticut was dean and an outstanding influence in the life of the students at the Berkeley Divinity School, so Bishop Nichols became the dean and source of inspiration to all the men in training at San Mateo. A house was soon built so that the bishop and his family might live in close contact with the students. All those who shared the life of San Mateo in some measure bear the stamp of their bishop dean, and their present loyalty to the school is of the warmest type, indicating an appreciation of the valuable training they undoubtedly there received.

Life in the school was characterized by one of the earliest students as "plain living and high thinking, days of enthusiasm aroused, the soul awakened to the vision of an ideal worth living for, the first stirrings of the sense of gratitude to God, the first springing up of the great desire to dedicate his best to God". Such testimony bears ample witness to the quality of the training of this period. The faculty, later augmented by the addition of Dr. Herbert H. Powell, and Dr. F. P. Murgotten, was able. A wholesome spirit permeated the student body and the life of the common room with its sympathetic chaff, and good humored debate added much to the morale.

The missionary note was struck at the very first service, when the offering was designated for foreign missions. This interest in missions was afterward kept to the forefront. The first student to be enrolled, the Reverend G. M. Cutting, volunteered for service and spent the first years of his ministry abroad. Bishop Nichols at the end of twenty-five years of the school's life proudly announced that 17% of the graduates of the school had gone into missionary work.

The school amply fulfilled the major functions for which it was founded, that of training a native ministry. Up to the time of its removed to San Francisco over 90% of the students were from the far West, most of them from the state of California. Only of late have men begun to come from outside the province in appreciable numbers.

During these years it attained a reputation of being more or less of a diocesan institution. It was not, and was never so intended, but with the bishop of California taking such an active place in its life it probably was bound to be so regarded. What gave further color to

this opinion was that the school was not incorporated. There were no trustees, and everything centered in the bishop, even the property being vested in him as a corporation sole. This was done for convenience sake; and since it was agreed among the bishops that no degrees were to be given until the school had attained a certain permanence, stability and academic standard, there was no necessity for incorporation. Indeed, in a desire to win respect for their academic ideals, the dean and faculty made no attempt even to give diplomas of graduation to the men completing the three year training. In fact diplomas were not awarded until 1914. Action then taken made the privilege of a diploma retroactive to the members of the earlier classes desiring them.

The original building, adapted and enlarged, was soon supplemented by the construction of two faculty houses, one, as we have noted, occupied by the dean, and the other by the much beloved Dr. Lincoln. The grounds were cultivated and beautified by the voluntary labor of faculty and students. Plans were developed for the future buildings of the school, and at the time of the meeting of General Convention in San Francisco in 1901 the corner stone of the proposed new group of buildings was laid in the presence of many of the bishops and deputies. The building program was largely underwritten by Mrs. George W. Gibbs. Progress on the construction was definitely stopped in 1906 by the great earthquake and no attempt was made subsequently to complete it.

During this period Canon Kip and his successor on the faculty, the Reverend Dan Lewis, were removed by death. Dr. H. H. Powell was added to the faculty in 1900. Among those who also served on the faculty during this period were the Reverend Henry H. Haynes, Reverend J. De Wolf Cowie, and Dr. Edward L. Parsons. Occasional lectures were given by many others.

It was the earthquake which really ended the San Mateo period, for had it not been for the earthquake and fire the magnificent cathedral property in San Francisco probably would not have been given to the Church by the Crocker family. When this princely gift was made to the diocese, in his plans for its development Bishop Nichols made generous provision for the divinity school. This pattern of the English diocesan theological school, located under the shadow of the cathedral, probably had its effect on the bishop's thinking, especially in view of the fact that the new building program at San Mateo had been wrecked. Mrs. Gibbs, who had been ready to finance the San Mateo buildings, was now willing to build the excellent building of steel and stone known as Gibbs Hall, still standing and used as a chapter house by the cathedral. It was an imposing and well planned structure.

This San Francisco phase of the life of the school stretches over a period of nineteen years, from 1911 to 1930. It has its own character as surely as the San Mateo days. The school was unquestionably influenced by its proximity to the life of the cathedral and the diocesan activities centering in the neighboring diocesan house. The focus of the interest of the students was not so much the school as the Church and its abounding activities. The bishop was not so close to the men as when he lived at the school, in San Mateo, and the very presence of the city was also a factor in depriving the school of something of the warmth which characterized the former years. But there were values from intimate association with the work of the Church in a larger center of population. A constant stream of interesting personalities enriched the life of the students. It was at this period that the school drew on the teaching resources of the nearby universities. Dr. Gardner and Professor H. R. Fairclough came from Stanford to give courses, and Professor W. A. Morris from the University of California. It should be noted when thinking of some of those who had a profound influence in the life of the students that Mrs. Lincoln, wife of the sub-dean, did much to mould helpfully many successive generations of students with her vitalizing faith and courageous outlook on life.

In 1914 the Eighth Missionary Department adopted the school as the divinity school of the Department. This was the first step, soon to be followed by many others, to dissociate the school from any tendency in the Church to regard it as a local, diocesan institution. The next step was to incorporate the school in order to vest responsibility in a board of trustees and to receive authority to grant degrees. The articles of incorporation were amended in 1924 when the newly formed province agreed to declare the school the official divinity school of the province, and further agreed to elect five trustees to the board. The restriction providing that the bishop of California should be president of the board was likewise renewed. Meanwhile sentiment, chiefly fostered by Dr. Powell, was gathering headway to the effect that it would be advantageous should opportunity permit to move the school to Berkeley. It was felt that it would be of inestimable value to put the students in touch with the teaching resources and academic standards of the university and the three theological schools located there, and also that it would serve to break whatever ties remained linking it in people's minds with the diocese of California.

When Bishop Nichols died in 1923, Dr. Powell was made dean. Dr. Powell was a great Semitic scholar whose abilities were widely recognized in the Church and in many academic circles outside. He was

also a learned canonist whose resources General Convention employed over a long period of years. He won the loyalty of students and the good will of the public to the school. Soon after Dr. Powell became dean an arrangement was entered into whereby the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge sent out from time to time one of its teaching staff to carry on a teaching program for a limited term. Among those who came to the school under this agreement were Dr. William Wood and Dr. Norman Nash. It was an exceedingly helpful factor in tying up the standards and caliber of the academic work on the Coast with that prevailing in the East.

When Grace Cathedral undertook its campaign to build the new structure, it adopted a new design which called ultimately for the removal of Gibbs Hall. This was the opportunity which had been awaited ever since it had been decided by the trustees in 1925 to move the school to Berkeley when occasion offered. The chapter of the Cathedral agreed to purchase the divinity school building and the way was then opened to begin the third chapter of the school's life. Property was purchased on Ridge Road in Berkeley only a block north of the campus of the university and but a few hundred feet from the Pacific School of Religion, the largest theological college in the West. A new Gibbs Hall was built, a large and attractive building of steel and brick, well designed for its purpose. Subsequently additional property was acquired to provide for normal expansion. The actual removal to Berkeley was completed by April, 1930.

The effect of the change was soon apparent. The happiest results followed upon the close relations at once established with the Pacific School of Religion, the Berkeley Baptist Divinity School and the Starr King School for the Ministry. Mutual exchange privileges were adopted by all the seminaries and the Church Divinity School availed itself largely of the offerings of the Pacific School of Religion both for required work and elective courses. By common consent certain courses were not duplicated. From the beginning an appreciable number of students from the other schools, especially the Pacific School of Religion, took work at the Church Divinity School. The effect on the academic life was wholesome in establishing academic standards and in opening new resources in teaching and library to the students. The climate of Berkeley was stimulatingly academic and tended to balance the students' viewpoint by a proper emphasis on the intellectual aspects of religious training. This close cooperation with other academic agencies also resulted in a careful rearrangement and enrichment of the curriculum of prescribed and elective work.

Under Dr. Powell's leadership the school began to make more

real and effective its provincial status by endeavoring to make the province conscious of its responsibility in helping to build a theological center for the West. An annual grant from provincial funds was obtained and a place secured on the synod's program for an annual statement of the affairs of the school.

From the beginning the school had operated largely on the income of its invested funds. The original \$40,000 endowment was increased by a \$35,000 bequest from Miss Augusta Hart Williams and by \$25,000 secured from the sale of the San Mateo property. With the expansion of the life of the school and the shrinkage of funds and interest rates an effort was made by Dr. Powell and the trustees to secure additional money from individuals in the Church with but modest success. Later on in the Berkeley period a system of small unit giving was instituted which has been most helpful in meeting operational expense.

When Dr. Powell's health began to fail the Reverend Schuyler Pratt was brought to the school to share some of the responsibility of administration. This relief was welcome but Dr. Powell did not long survive, dying in 1933. His loyalty to the school and the cause of theological education in the West had led him to refuse other teaching posts in the Church from time to time, and a large part of the contribution the school has made to the Church in the West is attributable to him. The present dean entered into the service of the school in 1935.

During this Berkeley period other buildings have been added to the original Gibbs Hall from time to time. A dean's house was erected next to Gibbs Hall and provision for the recreational life of the students was made by the construction of a concrete tennis court. Later All Saints Chapel was built, a gothic structure of brick and stone in architectural accord with the other buildings, and named in memory of the Reverend George F. Weld, a devoted trustee. This was followed later by a library building, named in honor of Dr. J. O. Lincoln, a professor and librarian from the very inception of the institution. Other property was acquired on which it is hoped another dormitory in time will be built. The number of volumes in the library has been increased to 16,000, which with the 50,000 volumes now in the Pacific School of Religion, give the student ample bibliographical background.

Gradually the school now began to take a larger place in the life of the West and in the Church as a whole, and the necessity for the development of a theological institution in the West became more sharply defined. General Convention in 1937 passed a resolution call-

ing upon the Church to recognize the work the school was doing and calling upon Church people everywhere to strengthen its work. New faculty men were added and the literary output of the members of the faculty has made a real contribution to current religious literature. One of the functions for which the school was originally founded, to build an institution which by honorary degrees might bring recognition to a few outstanding leaders of the Church in the West, has been fulfilled from time to time. Many of the clergy in the field have been encouraged to study for the bachelor of divinity degree, and provision was made for a certain amount of graduate study for those who wish the higher degrees. The school has become a member of the American Association of Theological Schools. A year ago the trustees elected the Right Reverend Robert B. Gooden, D. D., suffragan bishop of Los Angeles, president of the board, emphasizing the wider and more representative nature of the school's character as the school of the whole far West.

The alumni list now possesses 175 names of men who have actually graduated from the school. Many others also have received here a part of their education. They are at work in all sections of the Church, but the far largest portion is in the West and in the mission field. Three have been advanced to the episcopate and many others have risen to posts of large responsibility.

The Right Reverend E. L. Parsons, bishop of California, succeeded Bishop Nichols as president of the board of trustees and remained in this post until his retirement as bishop. His contribution to the life and policies of the school has been invaluable, both as trustee and teacher. He now occupies a post in the faculty as head of the department of theology. The other members of the present faculty are the dean, Henry H. Shires, the Reverend Dr. Randolph C. Miller, the Reverend Everett B. Bosshard, the Reverend Arnold Nash, the Right Reverend Irving P. Johnson, the Reverend Henry M. Shires and the Reverend Dr. Pierson Parker. Throughout the years many of the clergy in the West, too numerous to chronicle here, have given generously of their time as lecturers and instructors.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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*The Oversea Episcopate: Centenary History of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, 1841-1941.* By the Rev. W. F. France, M. A. Westminster, S. W. 1., London, 1941. 32 pp.

A little known chapter in the world-wide expansion of the Anglican Communion is ably told in this small brochure by the oversea secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts who is also the honorary secretary of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. The historical introduction is a summary of the attempts and failures to establish the Anglican episcopate outside the British Isles during the 17th and 18th centuries. The American War of Independence was an ecclesiastical, as well as a political and social, revolution. It not only forced the expansion of the Anglican episcopate by the erection of the American Episcopal Church as an autonomous body within the Anglican Communion, but it ushered in the new era of separation of Church and State, the like of which on a national scale had not been seen in Christendom since the days of Constantine.

There are, however, some errors of fact in the historical introduction. The author states: "The first permanent settlement of colonists in America was in 1606 and the first celebration of the Holy Communion was in 1607, so the Church was not slow in following her children." The Rev. Dr. Brydon, historiographer of the diocese of Virginia and associate editor of this Magazine, corrects this statement as follows:

"The actual facts are that the charter of the Virginia Company was obtained April 10, 1606. The little flotilla of three ships carrying the first colonists sailed from London, December 20, 1606, and was detained near the English coast by contrary winds until February 8, 1606/07. They left the English shores about that date and arrived at Cape Henry, April 26, 1607. After spending a couple of weeks exploring the bay and river, they fixed upon the definite site of Jamestown and arrived there to disembark on May 13, 1607. They celebrated the Holy Communion on the third Sunday after Trinity which in that year was June 21, old style, or July 1, new style. Arriving at Jamestown as they did on Rogation Wednesday, and debarking on Ascension Day, they had the first celebration of the Holy Communion within six weeks."

Mr. France's explanation of the origins of the bishop of London's jurisdiction over the spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs of the colonies is not borne out by A. L. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*, (p. 12), nor by Norman Sykes, *Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, 1669-1748* (pp. 334-5). Neither is his statement about the appointment of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Moray (or Murray), rector of Ware Parish in Virginia, as bishop of Virginia, quite accurate. The latest research on this latter subject, it is to be hoped, will be presented in some future issue of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*.

The Colonial Bishoprics Fund was initiated by the bishop of London (Charles James Blomfield, 1828-1856) in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury (William Howley, 1828-1848), dated April 1840, and received the latter's whole-hearted cooperation. At the first public meeting (April 27, 1841), in behalf of the project, called by the archbishop, "all the bishops within reach of London, many lay peers, and many hundreds of the most distinguished of the clergy and lay members of the Church," attended. Believe it or not, £80,000 (about \$400,000.00) were raised. In those days a few people in England could give a lot of money. William E. Gladstone was there, spoke eloquently, and served as one of the treasurers of the Fund from the beginning until his death fifty years later.

In 1841 there were but ten Anglican bishoprics outside the British Isles, (not counting those of the American Episcopal Church, in which there were 27 dioceses with 21 bishops) :

Nova Scotia, 1787; Quebec, 1793; Calcutta, 1814; Jamaica, 1824; Barbadoes, 1824; Madras, 1835; Australia, 1836; Bombay, 1837; Toronto, 1839; New Foundland, 1839.

By 1872, 31 years after the Fund's establishment, a total of £238,000 (over \$1,000,000) had been received and thirty new dioceses scattered over the world had been wholly or partly endowed, again not counting the 41 dioceses and 47 bishops of the American Church as of 1872.

By 1891, when the Jubilee public meeting was held (June 19th), at which the aged Gladstone again spoke eloquently for nearly an hour, the ten oversea dioceses had increased to 82. [In the American Episcopal Church there were in addition: 52 dioceses, 10 domestic missionary districts, and 73 bishops.] Of the 82 oversea dioceses, not counting those in the United States, "no less than 61 are grouped in seven self-governing provinces." New Zealand, as an example, which had been one of the first to be set up as a diocese with 12 clergy in 1841, was in 1891 a province of six dioceses and 254 clergy.

By the end of the Fund's first century (1941), the total receipts in one hundred years had been £903,000 (c. \$4,400,000), and over 100 overseas dioceses had been established whose endowments in whole or in part had been received from the Fund. Most of these dioceses are now a part of autonomous Churches within the Anglican Communion.

But the last fifty years have not been as rosy, financially speaking, as the first half century. This condition the author justly laments for "some £750,000 new capital is required if modest provision is to be made for existing dioceses partially endowed, or with no endowment, and for new dioceses authorized or projected."

By 1891 the initial enthusiasm had already cooled and the contributions to the Fund, in both numbers and amount, had proportionately declined. The causes for this Mr. France analyzes with acumen. Negatively, the stream of emigration from the British Isles has slowed up or ceased altogether, and "there is no longer any sense of a great wrong to be righted". Positively, (1) the Fund never had a full time secretary and consequently no single person was responsible for initiative; (2) paradoxically, the creation of autonomous provinces lessened the

home Church's sense of responsibility; and most important, (3) the Fund never adjusted itself to the radical social and economic changes of the last fifty years:

"In the nineteenth century (or at least the first seventy years of it) all charities lived upon the large support of the few, while for the last fifty years they have depended upon the small gifts of the many. All this is written large in the life of the Missionary Societies, which have been compelled to build up elaborate machinery to arrest the attention of the 'man-in-the-pew', and having done this, so to educate him as to retain his devotion. The Colonial Bishoprics' Fund has never taken steps to adjust itself to these great changes . . ."

There is a lesson in this last statement for every bishop and priest of the American Church. "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

WALTER HERBERT STOWE.

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*The Philippines. A Study in National Development*, by Joseph R. H. Hayden. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. 984.

Dr. Hayden brings to the writing of this truly monumental book four years' experience of residence in the Philippines as an exchange professor, a newspaper correspondent, vice-governor and secretary of public instruction, in addition to which he was for six months acting governor-general, and is now professor of Political Science in the University of Michigan. He here traces the development of the Filipinos from subjection to a decadent European state to a progressive commonwealth, democratic in form and modern in its organization, looking forward to national independence in 1846. In brilliant fashion he interprets the forces which have contributed to this transformation. He includes in his survey education, public health, social welfare, the connection between the church and the state, and analyses the relation of the Philippines to China and Japan, together with its relations to the United States. The illuminating preface was written after the outbreak of the war, the effect of which the author finds it difficult to foresee. It is, however, interesting to note that in his judgment "the American-Philippine relationship had, on the whole, been happier and more fruitful than any other which has existed in modern times between a dominant and a dependent people." This is essentially a timely book, informing to the highest degree. E. C. C.

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*The Catholic Revival in England*, by John J. O'Connor. New York. Macmillan Co. 1942. Pp. 102. \$1.

A compact and interesting sketch of the development of the Roman Catholic Church in England from 1770 to 1902. The leader of the revival was Wiseman,

who wrote the famous essay on St. Augustine and the Donatists, which destroyed Newman's faith in Anglicanism, and became Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. The other outstanding figure was Manning, as oblique as he was clever, and the inveterate foe of Newman, whom he accused as holding "low views" of the Papacy. The part Manning played in securing the adoption of the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope is clearly brought out as is also his interest in labor and social problems. This little volume is an admirable illustration of what a manual of Church history should be.

E. C. C.

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*America in the New Pacific*, by George E. Taylor. New York. Macmillan Co. 1942. Pp. 160.

It would be difficult to find a more timely book than this, or to find an author better qualified to write on the problems of the Pacific than Professor Taylor. His mature judgment is based upon two years as a newspaper correspondent in China, teaching in Chinese universities and extensive travel in Japan and Manchuria. Professor of the Far Eastern Department in the University of Washington, he has engaged in intensive research under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations in New York. Strong in the conviction that ultimate victory depends upon our knowing "what kind of a world we are fighting in, and what kind of a world we are fighting for", he discusses the fundamental differences between the aims of Japan and the United States in the Pacific. Not seeking to colonize, "America has exported ideas, rather than armies", among which he lists Christian ideas in relation to sex and the family, an economic philosophy and the policy of the "open door". There is a particularly illuminating chapter on "China as an ally" as it fits in with the Pacific picture. It may be said with emphasis that any American seeking an intelligent understanding of the present situation in the Pacific and its probable outcome, will find this book an invaluable aid.

E. C. C.

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*A History of Grace Church in Manchester, Originally Known as St. Michael's. 1841-1941.* Compiled by Lauretta Bailey Sawtelle, Parish Historian. Manchester, N. H. 1941. Pp. 72.

An interesting sketch of one hundred years of church life and work in a New Hampshire mill town. Well illustrated; excellently printed. Grace Church is to be commended for having its own parish historian.

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*Sermon in Memory of the Rev. George Thomas Linsley, D. D.*, by the Rev. William A. Beardsley, D. D. Hartford. Church Missions Publishing Company. Pp. 17. 25 cents.

A tribute to the memory of a Connecticut presbyter, for thirty years rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd, first editor of the diocesan paper and

secretary of the Seabury Society for the Preservation of the Glebe House at Woodbury.

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*Sermon at the Two Hundredth Anniversary of St. Paul's Church, Wallingford, Connecticut*, by the Rev. Wm. A. Beardsley. 1941.

A valuable sketch of the history of one of the oldest parishes in Connecticut.

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*The Little Red Schoolhouse*, by Agnes De Lima and the Staff. New York. The Macmillan Co. 1942. Pp. 355. \$3.50.

Under the intriguing title of "The Little Red Schoolhouse", Miss De Lima, aided by the staff of the school, writes the story of an experiment in what is called "progressive education", with an Introduction by John Dewey. The school began in 1921. The children, three hundred and fifty in number, are grouped according to their abilities. There are no written reports to parents; no marks; no prizes. The dominant principle underlying the instruction is that "education is growth of the entire personality"; its purpose is to build up sound and wholesome habits of thinking. In this it has been and is strikingly successful. In addition to a clear cut exposition of an educational policy, the book adds a detailed account of the curriculum, which is designed to train a child in the art of living. It should be of special interest to parents and to those engaged in the teaching profession. There is an excellent bibliography of children's books and books on child development.

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*Reprint of the Journal of the Second Convention (1827) of the Diocese of Mississippi*. Edited by Nash Kerr Burger, Historiographer, with a Foreword by Theodore DuBose Bratton, Retired Bishop of Mississippi.

This is the second in a series of reprints of the journals of the diocese of Mississippi. (For a review of the first, see *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Volume X (September, 1941), p. 294.) The printing of the original journal has been followed exactly. The editor provides a two-page historical resume, "How the Diocese Began".

A like project is to be commended to other dioceses which are one hundred years old or more, since complete files of their early journals are rare or difficult of access. In those days of small things, ecclesiastically speaking, each clergyman usually made a report on the state of his congregation; and these reports are invaluable for reconstructing the beginnings of the Church in the newer states and territories.

WALTER H. STOWE.

*The Highway of God*, by Ralph W. Sockman. New York. The Macmillan Co. 1942. Pp. 228. \$2.

This is the latest of the Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching at Yale. It measures up to any of its predecessors. Based upon the ministry of John Baptist, it draws a parallel between his wilderness ministry and the ministry called for in the troubled world of today. In developing this theme, Dr. Sockman draws upon his long experience as a preacher in New York and his lectures are shot through with literary charm. He is modern and sanely liberal. Younger men in the ministry will find this volume rich in suggestion.

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*The Story of American Catholicism*, by Theodore Maynard. New York. The Macmillan Co., 1941. xviii. 694 pages. \$3.50.

A more accurate title would be "The Story of Roman Catholicism in America," for nothing whatever is said of any other variety. The adjective "Roman," however, is studiously avoided by the author, although he does not hesitate to express his admiration for the control of his Church in this country by the authorities at Rome.

It is difficult to appraise the volume as history since much of it is frankly propaganda. The author tells us that his aim is to show that "the Catholic Church in truth is the natural upholder of American institutions . . . one of the strongest bulwarks of American liberty." Hence not a few sections of the book are in the form of argument or rhetorical statement, rather than uncolored presentation of historical fact. For instance, when the ephemeral attempts at settlement by Spanish and French Roman Catholics are considered, it is not enough to describe them; the conclusion must be drawn that "their culture remains to this day as among the deepest foundations of America"!

The chapter on the French missions concludes with the statement that "all the Indians of the North American continent might have been won for Christ . . . had not the Protestant settlements undone the work of the missionaries." The author appears to have forgotten that at the beginning of the chapter he gave another reason for the French failure, namely, that "Champlain, backing the wrong horse among the Indian tribes, shot dead an Iroquois chief," thus making "implacable enemies of the Five Nations."

As might be expected there is the usual Roman Catholic exaltation of Maryland as the cradle of religious liberty. It is true enough, as the author says, that Lord Baltimore never intended to found an exclusively Catholic colony. But it is also true that unless he was prepared to tolerate Protestants he could have had no colony at all. One of the most serious defects in the author's historical scholarship is his disparagement of Roger Williams' contribution to religious toleration as "largely a myth."

The words "bigotry" and "intolerance" are favorites of the author. They are used again and again—but always of the opponents of Roman Catholicism. A reader from Mars would surely conclude that no Roman Catholic in the history of the world, and especially in the history of England and America, had ever shown the least symptom of these unamiable qualities.

When it comes to a consideration of the causes of this Protestant "bigotry," those mentioned are the colonists' inheritance of the English penal code, their fear of French instigation of the Indians, their fear of Spanish invasion from Florida, their fear of a Stuart restoration, and the widespread belief that Catholicism was the foe of liberty. The author admits that there may have been some foundation for the fear of Indian atrocities stirred up by the French, but as for a Stuart restoration, why not? no king had been a more loyal upholder of Protestantism than James II! Of course, the conviction of Locke, Milton, and others that Catholicism was the foe of freedom was wholly without foundation. Back of this the author does not go. What lay at the basis of the penal code and the colonists' fears and the conviction of Milton and Locke is not even hinted at; not the least inkling is given that there had ever been a Spanish Inquisition, or a Massacre of St. Bartholomew or an English Queen by the name of Mary Tudor or a series of Jesuit plots to assassinate Queen Elizabeth, or a Spanish Armada. Nor is there so much as a whisper as to how much or how little toleration was granted to Protestants in contemporary Roman Catholic countries, such as Italy, France, Spain, and the Spanish colonies.

It may be true that the American colonists' fear of possible Roman Catholic domination was groundless, but that the fear not only existed, but had deep-lying and justifiable causes for its existence ought surely to be recognized by any historian who considers the religious issues in colonial America. Simply to dismiss this fear and the repressive legislation it engendered as "bigotry" may be good propaganda, but it is bad history.

But not only in the colonial period is Protestant "bigotry" evident. It reappears periodically throughout American history, but its most recent manifestation being the defeat of Al Smith for President. In order to show its absurdity the author points to the obviously ridiculous rumor that a room had been prepared at Georgetown University as a temporary residence for his Holiness when he arrived to take over the government on Smith's inauguration. But the author gives no consideration to C. C. Marshall's calmly reasoned and documented *The Roman Church in the Modern State*, which was called forth by Smith's candidacy.

Although the author is in evident sympathy with such Roman Catholic leaders as Gibbons and Ireland, who have been willing, on the whole, to accept the impact of American ideals on their Church and to express approval of the separation of Church and State, he is careful to point out that this approval is not an approval of separation as a general principle or as an ideal arrangement, but merely as a matter of practice in this country, conditions here being what they are. "According to Catholic doctrine the union of Church and State is still affirmed to be the most perfect solution." Separation, however, is the best solution "for a country like the United States, where Catholics form a decided minority."

This naturally raises the question: what would happen if the Roman Catholic Church became the dominant religious body in the country? The author answers that he feels sure that Roman Catholics would uphold our present arrangement unless or until our society became "so predominantly Catholic as to be able to be described as Catholic *sans phrase*." This, he adds, "is almost unthinkable." It is, however, devoutly to be hoped for. "Nothing less is our apostolic mission."

Incidentally one aspect of American practice resulting from the separation

of Church and State, which the author says Roman Catholics will not cease to protest against, is the refusal of the State to support parochial schools.

Despite the author's oft repeated assertion of the consonance of Roman Catholicism with American ideals, there are occasional passages which seem, unconsciously, to contradict it. The most revealing is the casual statement, occurring in a list of Cardinal Gibbons' achievements, to the effect that he worked with the English Cardinal Manning to prevent Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* from being put under the Index. That the existence of an Index should thus be taken for granted, and that it should also be recorded, as a matter of course, that it needed the combined efforts of the two most distinguished Roman Catholic leaders in the English speaking world to keep a book like Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* from being put on the Index, shows the unfortunate gulf which exists between the Roman Catholic mind and that of the normal American.

When the author is not working his thesis that Roman Catholicism is at the basis of American liberty, or exposing the effects of "bigotry," but simply describing movements or persons within the Roman Catholic Church, his story is well told, interesting and enlightening. The conflicts between racial groups in the Church—between the Irish and the French, between the Germans and the Irish, and between different factions of the Irish themselves—the missionary achievements and failures of the Church, its slowness in taking up the cause of Social Justice, its small cultural contribution, the careers of its outstanding leaders, such as John Carroll, James Gibbons, and John Ireland, the Papal condemnation of Americanism, all this and more is ably presented, and we can only regret that the book is marred by the author's obsession with propaganda and bigotry.

A few of the author's conclusions, chosen at random, may be of interest: "American Catholicism must be said to have been, in its inception, wholly a Jesuit affair, and to have largely remained so."

"It is incontestable that the guiding hands of the Church in the United States have been Irish."

In 1810 or thereabouts "the title *Father* was not yet in common use; even in clerical correspondence the usual title is *Mister*."

"Our cities have a huge Catholic population; . . . the cities have constantly to be replenished with new blood from the country districts, and these are unable to supply Catholics in any considerable numbers . . . Within a few generations . . . the Church . . . must therefore expect a sharp decline."

"All Catholics, even those who are not particularly edifying ones—and probably even those who are under excommunication—belong to the Mystical Body of Christ. Only Catholics belong to it."

"Ralph Adams Cram has for a long time been tottering on the brink of the Church without quite falling in."

J. A. MULLER.

*Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge.*

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*Memories and Opinions.* By Horace Dutton Taft. New York. The Macmillan Company. Pp. 336. 1942.

This salty volume of Mr. Taft refutes the statement of Henry Adams that "Nothing is more tiresome than a superannuated pedagogue". After more than fifty years of teaching, Mr. Taft is anything but "tiresome"; he still retains a keen

sense of humor. His memories embrace the Taft family, which gave one of its sons as a President of the United States. Horace was a Yale man of '79, when Noah Porter was president. After a few months spent in practicing law, he returned to Yale as a tutor in Latin. Then came his life work—that of a schoolmaster—resulting eventually in the beginning of the famous "Taft School". It was founded in 1890, and for forty and six years he was its one and only "Head". His memories of successive generations of boys, and especially of their parents, are a fascinating study in human nature, and shot through with humor of the rarest kind. Likewise, the tributes he pays to his colleagues in the school. The book abounds in excellent stories, such as the one he tells of the system of flogging in the English schools. A young teacher handed the headmaster a list of the names of boys. The Head thought they were listed for a flogging, which they duly received. It was afterwards discovered that it was a list of boys who were to be confirmed the following Sunday! "Memories and Opinions" is excellent reading, as entertaining as it is instructive.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.



# ORIGINS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH PRESS FROM COLONIAL DAYS TO 1840

*By Clifford P. Morehouse, M.A.*

## FOREWORD

THE object of this study is to show the origins of the religious press in the Episcopal Church and to indicate why some publications were permanently successful and others were not. For this purpose the study begins with the earliest periodicals and continues to the year 1840, at which time there were twelve periodicals of general circulation in the American Episcopal Church, three of which have continued to 1942.

The study does not by any means present the complete story of religious journalism in the Episcopal Church. If it indicates the origins of Episcopal Church journalism and the roots from which it has grown it will have served its purpose. In that hope the writer sends it forth with a prayer that it may lead others, more competent than himself, to continue the study and to present at some future date the complete story of religious journalism in the Episcopal Church.

I am greatly indebted to the late Professor Maynard W. Brown of Marquette University for encouraging me to undertake this study and carry it to a conclusion, as a thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in that university. I am also indebted to Dean Jeremiah L. O'Sullivan and the other members of the Marquette Journalism faculty, and to the librarian of that university.

A considerable part of this study was made in the library of the General Theological Seminary in New York, which has the most complete file of the early periodicals of the Episcopal Church in existence. I am deeply indebted to the Very Rev. Hughell E. W. Fosbroke, dean of the Seminary, for his courtesy in permitting me to be the guest of the Seminary while I was pursuing these studies. I am also greatly obliged to the Rev. Dr. Burton Scott Easton, librarian of the General Theological Seminary Library, for placing the full facilities of that library at my disposal on several occasions. I also wish to thank the librarian of Nashotah House, Nashotah, Wisconsin, the Rev. Dr. Frank H. Hal-

lock, for permitting me to use the facilities of that library, and for assisting me in obtaining some of the materials for this study.

My thanks are further due to the Rev. Dr. E. Clowes Chorley, official historiographer of the Episcopal Church and editor of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, for permitting me access to his file of clippings relating to journalism in the Episcopal Church and for permission to quote from his unpublished manuscript, *Men and Movements in the Episcopal Church*; also for valuable criticism of the manuscript. The Rev. Dr. Walter H. Stowe, president of the Church Historical Society, deserves a special word of appreciation, both for use of his unpublished manuscript, *A Great Decade, 1830-1840*, and for exceptionally valuable and constructive criticism. The Rev. Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon, historiographer of the diocese of Virginia, has also given me valuable information, particularly in relation to the *Layman's Magazine* of Martinsburg, Virginia, and I wish to express my appreciation to him.

Finally, I wish to express my very greatest appreciation of the assistance of my secretary, Marie Pfeifer, who has put in many hours of labor on this manuscript, and whose assistance in putting it in presentable shape has been invaluable.

CLIFFORD P. MOREHOUSE.

## CHAPTER I

### THE BACKGROUND OF EPISCOPAL JOURNALISM

#### 1. THE COLONIAL CHURCH

**A**NGLICANISM came to America with the earliest English explorers and settlers. In Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, there stands today a granite cross commemorating the first service from the English Prayer Book held on this continent. The date of that service was June 21, 1579, and the clergyman who conducted it was the Rev. Francis Fletcher, chaplain on Sir Francis Drake's ship "Pelican," later re-named "The Golden Hinde."<sup>1</sup>

But the first permanent work of the Anglican Church on continental North America was in Virginia, where the Church was at work 13 years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. The Rev. Robert Hunt, an Anglican clergyman, was among the first group of colonists who settled at Jamestown in 1607, and on June 21st he celebrated the first Holy Eucharist upon the soil of Virginia. Shortly thereafter the colonists began the erection of a church as one of their first buildings.<sup>2</sup>

Although it was only in a few of the Southern colonies that the Church of England attained the status of an established Church, it became active in all of the thirteen colonies prior to the Revolution. It was, however, hampered throughout the colonial period by the fact that it had no bishops in America. Consequently, it was relatively weak in its organization and entirely dependent upon England for its continuance. Candidates for holy orders in the colonies had to make the long and perilous journey to England for ordination and many of them died on the journey over or before they could return. In the absence of bishops there were no confirmations on this side of the Atlantic for more than 150 years of the Church's history.

During the American Revolutionary War the members of the Episcopal Church were divided in their allegiance. Many of the clergy felt that the oath of allegiance to the Crown that they had been required to take at least prevented them from taking an active part on the Revolutionary side and some of them sincerely sympathized with the

<sup>1</sup>Wilson, Rt. Rev. F. E., *An Outline History of the Episcopal Church*. Morehouse, Milwaukee, 1932, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Manross, Rev. Wm. W., *A History of the American Episcopal Church*. Morehouse, Milwaukee, 1935, p. 7.

English cause. Nevertheless, it is a fact that much of the leadership of the infant American republic came out of the colonial Church. Bishop Wilson enumerates a few of the Churchmen who became great leaders in the cause:<sup>3</sup>

“Washington himself was a Churchman. So also were Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, Marshall, Jay, Livingston, the Pinckneys, Morris, ‘Mad Anthony’ Wayne, Patrick Henry, and many others. The historian Fiske has often been quoted to the effect that five of these men (Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, and Marshall) were the ones who really made the nation—and all of them were Churchmen except, perhaps, Jefferson, whose religious ideas were rather vague. The Rev. Jacob Duché offered the prayer at the opening of the first Continental Congress and the Rev. William White was its chaplain in its darkest days. Croes and Smith, who later became bishops, served in the ranks of the Continental army. Muhlenberg, a priest, became a Brigadier-General. Bass, Parker, and Provoost, all of whom later were bishops, were outspoken supporters of the Revolutionary cause. Fifteen out of twenty clergy in South Carolina were staunch patriots and the proportion varied in other sections.”

Following the Revolution the Episcopal Church was reorganized and a series of general conventions were held. On November 14, 1784, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., was consecrated bishop by the Scottish nonjuring bishops at Aberdeen and returned to this country as the first bishop in the United States.<sup>4</sup> Shortly thereafter William White, Samuel Provoost, and James Madison were consecrated bishops in England. Thereafter the organization of the American Episcopal Church was complete, its governing body consisting of a General Convention with two houses—the House of Bishops and the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.<sup>5</sup>

But the period immediately after the Revolution, which was also the period of the first beginnings of religious journalism in the Episcopal Church, were dark days for Episcopalians. As Bishop Wilson observes:<sup>6</sup>

“The Church suffered from the reflected querulousness of secular politics. During the presidencies of Washington, Adams

<sup>3</sup>Wilson, *An Outline History of the Episcopal Church*, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>4</sup>Wilson, *An Outline History of the Episcopal Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 30: “The first Roman Catholic bishop of Maryland was not consecrated until 1790.” *Vide Catholic Encyclopedia*, article *Carroll*, pp. 379-381.

<sup>5</sup>Wilson, Rt. Rev. F. E., *The Divine Commission. The National Council*, N. Y., 1927, p. 268. For a detailed study of the Church’s organization, see “*Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*,” Volume VIII (1939), pp. 177-303.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 268-269.

and Jefferson, political partisanship was acrid to the point of personal abuse. Everybody was critical of everything. Moreover, a wave of irreligion was sweeping to its high tide. Tom Paine was getting a wide reading; and, however much good he may have done for the Revolutionary cause, he certainly counter-balanced it with a corruption of the spiritual life of the public. Popular debates were held on such subjects as 'whether there was any such thing as God' and 'whether Christianity had been beneficial or injurious to mankind.' The Church itself was distrusted. Anti-British feeling had never quite subsided after the Revolutionary War; and, in the early years of the nineteenth century, it was greatly aggravated by the events leading up to the War of 1812. The Episcopal Church suffered because of its British derivation. In some of the southern States, notably Virginia, the spoliation of the colonial Church had been carried to shocking extremes. Neither was it merely a case of misunderstanding. The Church itself showed a distressing lack of aggressiveness. As Dr. Tiffany puts it, 'The Church's course for a long period was marked with all the obstinacy of a weak mind and a strong constitution.' A devoted Churchman of such keen perspicacity as Chief Justice Marshall frankly said that he saw no possible future for it."

These conditions continued until about 1811. In that year the consecration of John Henry Hobart as assistant bishop of New York and Alexander Viets Griswold as bishop of the Eastern Diocese, followed by Bishops Theodore Dehon for South Carolina (1812), Richard Channing Moore for Virginia (1814) and Philander Chase for Ohio (1819), resulted in a new spiritual strength in the Episcopal Church and prepared the way for the next great forward movement in 1835, when the Church definitely accepted its full missionary and evangelistic responsibility. The early Church press had much to do with these developments.

## 2. THE CHURCH PRESS IN ENGLAND

At the time of the American Revolution there was no religious press in the colonies. This does not mean, however, that religious matters were not discussed in the periodicals of the day. On the contrary, religious discussions were to be found in publications of every kind, and were the main stock in trade of most publications. The story of Benjamin Franklin's encounters with the religious leaders of Boston in his day, for example, is a typical instance of the influence of Church leaders on the colonial and early American press.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Thurber, S. (editor), *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, N. Y. Allyn & Bacon. Also Fay, D., *Book I, The Rearing of an XVIIIth Century Radical in Franklin, The Apostle of Modern Times*. N. Y., Little Brown & Co.

But for actual Church periodicals, Americans had to turn to the mother country, and Anglican Churchmen naturally turned to the press of the Church of England; though even in England they did not find much in the way of a Church press at the close of the 18th century and the opening of the 19th.

The *British Critic* was probably the leading publication of the Church of England at the turn of the century. Begun in 1793, three years after the demise of the similar *Critical Review*, of which Smollett was sometime editor, it early attracted to its columns some of the ablest Anglican writers. (Later Newman was to become its leading writer.) The organ of the High Church party, it was staunchly Tory in its politics, and while it seems to have been read by many of the clergy of the Episcopal Church (for it is frequently mentioned in their diaries and memoirs), it must often have irritated them. This publication continued until 1843.

Another publication, primarily political, but giving a considerable amount of space to religious matters, was the *Anti-Jacobin Review* (1799-1821), sponsored by the "Society for the Reformation of Principles."

However, England itself was deficient in adequate religious periodicals at this time, even the clergy being more interested in politics and other mundane matters—so much that as late as 1824 Bishop Hobart of New York, visiting England, complained that the best educated among the English clergy were well versed in other branches of learning, but ignorant of theology.<sup>8</sup>

Among general English magazines circulated in America must be mentioned the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1781 to 1868), which has been called "The first English magazine of modern type." While this publication contained a wide variety of literary, political, and business information, it did not entirely neglect religion. Yet the Rev. H. H. Norris of Hackney observed:<sup>9</sup>

"The country clergy are constant readers of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, deep in the antiquities of the signs of inns, speculations as to what becomes of swallows in winter, and whether hedge-hogs, or other urchins, are most justly accused of sucking cows dry at night."

The *Christian Observer* was probably the most widely read of the English Church periodicals in America. Indeed in 1802 it began to be regularly reprinted in Boston, and thereafter for many years it

<sup>8</sup>Carpenter, S. C., *Church and People*, 1789-1889. S. P. C. K., London, 1933.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

had a considerable circulation in New England, New York, and other parts of this country. No attempts were made to adapt this publication to American conditions, and it paid little attention to American affairs, except when they were of a bizarre nature. In the issue of October, 1802, for example, there is an account of early Methodist revivals in Kentucky, with emphasis on the phenomenon of "falling down."

The *Christian Observer*, was a literary as well as a religious journal. In one of its earliest issues<sup>10</sup> it contained an excellent essay on "The Origin, Advantages, Disadvantages, and Importance of Literary Journals." These it traced from their origin in France about 1665 to its own day, quoting with approval the statement of Dr. Johnson in 1757: "A literary journal was for a long time among the deficiencies of English literature; but we have now, amongst other disturbers of human quiet, a numerous body of reviewers." One wonders how American subscribers to this journal enjoyed reading its naive explanation of the loss of the American colonies:<sup>11</sup>

"Our commerce has increased in proportion as our manufacturers have been brought to perfection, and our wealth in proportion to both, so that we are enabled to give a length of credit to strangers that was hitherto unknown in the annals of commerce. This unexampled wealth enabled England to establish, protect, and raise to importance that large portion of America, now the United States, which a variety of causes, but chiefly the envy of other nations, incited to throw off its dependence on this country, when our enemies said we were ruined, and waited for our fall; but to their surprise and disappointment, the British Islands have prospered more than ever."

In common with other periodicals of its day, the *Christian Observer* gave a considerable amount of space to curious physical and scientific phenomena as, for example, an anatomical description of a male rhinoceros, an account of an elephant tusk in which the iron head of a spear was found imbedded, an essay on the production of artificial cold by means of muriate of lime, and so on. In an early issue there is given an account of a monstrous lamb, as follows: "This monster, which was not yeaned alive, was deficient in all parts of the head below the ears."<sup>12</sup>

Only occasionally did the *Christian Observer* give any considerable amount of space to American affairs. There are, however, some interesting articles, as for example, the following:<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 34, Jan., 1802.

<sup>11</sup>Vol. 1, No. 1, Jan., 1802.

<sup>12</sup>These examples taken from the issue for February, 1802.

<sup>13</sup>Christian Observer, August, 1802, p. 536.

"Last winter a great body of Indians presented themselves to Congress, at Washington, under the command of one of their warriors, name Little Pigeon. The President and government caused ploughs and other implements of agriculture and various arts to be given to them. The President at the same time told their chief, that the Great Spirit had given to the enlightened whites a present, which contained the means of destroying the small-pox, which had lately occasioned a great mortality among their tribes. Such was the confidence of the Indians in their more civilized neighbours, that all the warriors immediately caused themselves to be inoculated, and they carried with them vaccine matter for their countrymen. Soon after, fifteen other chiefs came to be inoculated with the vaccine: this operation was performed both times by the Chaplain of Congress."

Publication of the *Christian Observer* continued until 1874, during all of which time it had a considerable following in America as well as in England. On the title page for the 1820 volume, for example, the name of Thomas B. Wait, Boston, is given as the American publisher, and Howe and Spaulding, New Haven, Connecticut, as the principal agents. Other agents are listed at Salem, Newburyport, Plymouth, Northampton, Springfield, New Bedford in Massachusetts; Portland and Gardiner in Maine; Portsmouth, Amherst, and Hanover, in New Hampshire; Middlebury, Vergennes, and Windsor, Vermont; Hartford in Connecticut; New Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, and Burlington, in New Jersey; Baltimore in Maryland; Shepherdstown in Virginia, and Detroit in Michigan.

## CHAPTER II

### EARLIEST PERIODICALS

#### 1. *THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE*

**I**N the 18th and early 19th century, journalists were frequently recruited from the ranks of the clergy, and combined in their own persons the first and fourth estates. This is not strange, as the clergy was almost the only educated class in colonial days, and this tradition persisted even after the Revolution. Moreover the early periodicals were largely of a polemic nature, and it is only fair to observe that the theological training of the 18th century was couched rather largely in terms of polemics.

It is therefore not surprising to note that the first clergyman of the Episcopal Church to be recorded as a journalist was the editor of a general periodical, rather than strictly a religious one. This man was the Rev. William Smith, D. D., and the periodical was the *American Magazine* (1757-1758).

Dr. Smith, a native of Scotland, came to America in 1751 as a tutor to the two children of one Colonel Martin, and for two years he lived at the Colonel's home on Long Island, continuing to tutor the children.<sup>1</sup> During this time Dr. Smith wrote *A General Idea of the College of Mirania*, a pamphlet intended as a sketch for a proposed college in New York. He sent copies to the Rev. Richard Peters of Philadelphia and to Dr. Benjamin Franklin, who was then president of the board of trustees of the Philadelphia College, Academy, and Charitable School. There began a correspondence which resulted, a few years later, in the appointment of Dr. Smith as provost of the college and academy.

Soon after his arrival in Philadelphia, Dr. Smith became acquainted with Col. William Bradford, editor and publisher of the *Pennsylvania Journal*. Col. Bradford's grandfather had been the first printer in the middle colonies (1684),<sup>2</sup> and his uncle, Andrew Bradford, had issued

<sup>1</sup>This sketch of Dr. Smith's life is based on *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D. D.*, by his great-grandson, Horace W. Smith. Philadelphia, 1880.

<sup>2</sup>This earlier William Bradford, a devoted Churchman, had published the *American Almanac*, the first Anglican almanac in the colonies. See *Historical Magazine*, December, 1941, p. 331.

the first magazine published in America. Bradford and Smith were both ardent patriots, opposed to the pacifism of the Friends, and had other interests in common.

When, therefore, Bradford decided to begin the publication of the *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle*, he turned to Dr. Smith to act as its editor. True, the title page said that the magazine was edited "by a society of gentlemen," but it was well known that Dr. Smith was the real editor.

The *American Magazine* embraced in its scope literature, science, history, politics, moral essays, and current news. Dr. Smith was an able and energetic editor and during the brief lifetime of the *American Magazine*—from November, 1757, to October, 1758—it was, in the words of Dr. F. L. Mott, "bold and outspoken, and sincerely devoted to liberty and the orderly development of an American civilization."<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Smith's principal literary contribution to the *American Magazine* was the series known as the "Hermit Papers." These were eight essays on religious subjects which appeared over the pseudonym of "The Hermit," and of which a capable observer wrote:

"They exhibit a warmth of feeling and a taste for letters ready to ripen into the pursuits of the scholar and the divine."

But Dr. Smith did not confine himself to religious subjects; he wrote also an article on the "State of the Province of Pennsylvania," "Earnest Address to the Colonies," and many patriotic and political essays and editorials. He was vigorous in promoting the main purpose of the periodical—to support the British cause against France, and the interests of the Penns, proprietors of the colony, against both Franklin and the Quakers. He was, said Dr. Coppée, "a man of science, literature, patriotism, and Christian devotion—a right excellent literary Churchman."<sup>4</sup>

The *American Magazine* makes an octavo volume of twelve numbers and a supplement. It came to an end when Dr. Smith was arrested and imprisoned for "abetting and promoting" a libel in the case of William Moore. Although this case did not directly arise through his editorship of the *American Magazine*, it seems to have grown out of his vigorous editorial policy against the Friends, and his refusal to retract statements made that he believed to be correct. While he was

<sup>3</sup>Mott, Frank L., *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850*, p. 81. New York, G. Appleton & Co., 1930.

<sup>4</sup>Quoted by Henry Coppée, in a monograph in Bishop Perry's *History of the American Episcopal Church*, Vol. II. Boston, 1885, p. 609.

in jail, Dr. Smith's students came to him for instruction. On his release he went to England, and thereafter his life led him into fields other than journalism.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. THE CHURCHMAN'S MAGAZINE

The first regular periodical of the Episcopal Church was the *Churchman's Monthly Magazine*, or *Treasury of Divine and Useful Knowledge* (1804-1827).<sup>6</sup> It was conceived originally as a private enterprise by a group of Churchmen in Connecticut, including Ashbel Baldwin, Richard Mansfield, Daniel Burhans, William Smith,<sup>7</sup> and Menzies Rayner, with the approbation and hearty endorsement of the bishop of Connecticut, the Rt. Rev. Abraham Jarvis,<sup>8</sup> but was soon made an official diocesan publication.<sup>9</sup> Beginning with the issue of January, 1804, this periodical pursued its aim—"to furnish brief historical accounts, comments, and explanation of [the Church's] feasts and fasts, her Sacraments, Liturgy, and Offices, to give a right understanding of the economy of redemption and the instituted means of salvation, and also to procure, publish, and preserve records of the origin and progress of the individual congregations in the Diocese." In the prospectus contained in the first issue, the editors added:

"That the object may be the more completely embraced, the whole will be calculated to guard against the plausible but dangerous reasonings of infidels and latitudinarians—reasonings the more dangerous, because plausible, for the laying of all religions upon a level; and whose pretended liberality toward religion in every form, arises from a real coldness towards it in any, and from their wishes to bring the thing itself into contempt and insignificance.

"We have a very encouraging and noble example set us, in that country from whence we emanated, and by members of that Church which gave origin to ours, and under whose fostering care it was for many years nurtured. The writings of those

<sup>5</sup>He became president of Washington College and was elected bishop of Maryland, but was never consecrated to that office.

<sup>6</sup>Beardsley, Rev. E. Edwards, *A History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, Vol. II. (See Index.)

<sup>7</sup>This William Smith was the nephew of the one who had been editor of the *American Magazine*. William B. Sprague, "Annals of the American Pulpit," has biographies of the following: Baldwin: V, 352; Mansfield: V, 131-134; Burhans: V, 410-414; Smith: V, 345-349. For Rayner, see E. E. Beardsley, "History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut," Vol. II (index references). Rayner became a Universalist and was deposed, 1828.

<sup>8</sup>Archives of General Convention, edited by Arthur Lowndes, Vol. III, pp. 420-421.

<sup>9</sup>Beardsley, in *A History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, says (p. 27) that it was begun "under the editorship of a committee appointed by the Convocation of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut."

learned and virtuous men brought over to us, exhibit the most pleasing proofs of their vigilance and ever to be admired abilities in detecting the falsehoods and repelling the subtle efforts of the enemies of their religion and peace."

The *Churchman's Monthly Magazine* (the word "Monthly" was dropped after two years) was octavo in size, and the first few numbers consisted of sixteen pages. The subscription price was \$1.50 a year.

The original plan of the *Churchman's Magazine* was for a revolving editorship, participated in by several of the Connecticut clergy, Dr. William Smith,<sup>10</sup> one of the original board of editors, described the plan in a letter to the Rev. John Henry Hobart, then assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York, under date of May 20, 1804:<sup>11</sup>

"As to our Magazine, it is the child of a holy-parent, its compositions must be dissimilar, and little able to endure the eye of severe criticism. I suppose you know the manner of the publication. The Diocese is divided into four parts, Newhaven, Cheshire, Waterbury, Stratford; each of these edits the Magazine three months in succession."

Continuing, Dr. Smith asks Dr. Hobart for "the life of Dr. Chandler" for the next number, thus enlisting the services of the man under whose editorship the *Churchman's Magazine* was later to become the first periodical for the whole Episcopal Church.

The plan of a revolving editorship did not work at all well, and in addition friction developed between the editors and the printers, who apparently took matters into their own hands at last, and demanded that a single capable editor be found. In another letter to Hobart, dated October 25, 1805, William Smith tells in some detail the troubles of the magazine:<sup>12</sup>

"At Newhaven yesterday we had a meeting concerning the *Churchman's Magazine*; I find the business very much thrown out of the jurisdiction of the Church into the hands of the printers. The printers are authorized to *procure* an Editor that shall be *agreeable* to the Committee. Hitherto the

<sup>10</sup>This William Smith, nephew of Dr. William Smith of Philadelphia, was a prominent Connecticut clergyman, rector of St. Paul's Church, Norwalk. He was the preacher at the consecration of Dr. Jarvis as bishop of Connecticut, one of the few instances in the American Episcopal Church when a priest preached the sermon at the consecration of a bishop. (Archives of General Convention, Vol. III, p. 47.) He was also the compiler of the *Office of Institution in the Prayer Book*. For his biography, see Wm. B. Sprague, "Annals of the American Pulpit," V, pp. 345-349.

<sup>11</sup>Archives of General Convention, Vol. III, p. 415.

<sup>12</sup>Dix, Morgan. *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York*. Part III, p. 97, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

*Convocation appointed the Editor*; but now the printers may appoint such an editor as *they* would not choose, at the same time many things may unite to make *their* negative on the appointment a matter of extreme delicacy. As to the idea of the Editor's being resident in N. H. I only say, I wish it is not too chimerical ever to be realized. The Gentlemen who were at Convocation say or seemed to say, it was your and the N. Y. Clergy's proposition as a *sine qua non* on the scheme of uniting the two States in a common concern in the Magazine. I should esteem it a favour to be informed by yourself, Sir: whether this really be the agreed-upon *vinculum*."

Light is thrown on the salaries of editors by the following:

"Some months since, being in N. H. Mr. Walter [one of the printing concerns] asked me for what sum I would sit down in N. H., and give my undivided attention to editing the magazine. Without considering that my answer might be perverted to imply a renunciation of all future view of being Editor, which I find has been the case, I replied—'One thousand dollars per annum.' So that virtually I find myself excluded from this business contrary to my views and expectations, having spent a great proportion of the little income arising from the editorship in purchasing books proper for the business."<sup>13</sup>

Continuing, he reviews the history of the rotating editorship:

"Perhaps you know not that at the commencement of this business, the Editorship was divided among the Clergy of the Diocese of Con' divided into four districts, of which N. H. published the first three numbers—the next three fell to Cheshire—the next three to Stratford—here Mr. Baldwin utterly refused to take it up, and in fine I was persuaded to continue it, and henceforward with very little aid it has come from my superintendence. At the time the present printing Company ousted Mr. Griswold, it sustained no small shock. By the force of superior persuasion what you have seen of Dr. Johnson's life has been published—I never meant to publish but extracts, & December shall close the whole with a warm recommendation of the work. If there are any views of publishing a Magazine in N. Y.: I shall be pleased to know what terms will be offered to an Editor, on the spot, and whether it would merit my attention. I have for some time contemplated publishing a Magazine of my own in N. Y. which perhaps could comprehend all the subjects of the proposed N. Y. one;—if so, I would be obliged to you, to open a correspondence with me upon the subject. My Family at present are too much separated for our mutual comfort—Any how, please to write to me as soon as possible upon the aforesaid question. I pray God to preserve

<sup>13</sup>Dix, Morgan. *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York. Part III*, p. 97, New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

your health and bless your labours: & Our best wishes to you and Mrs. Hobart."

Beginning in 1806 there was but a single editor.<sup>14</sup> The constant change of printers was an additional difficulty met by the sponsors of the Magazine.<sup>15</sup> But the *Churchman's Magazine* continued on its way, and gradually gained more support and prominence in the Church in which it continued for years to have no journalistic rival—unless the Boston edition of the (English) *Christian Observer* could be so considered.

By the beginning of Volume V, in January, 1808, the *Churchman's Magazine* had become firmly established and had an extensive circulation, not only in Connecticut, where it was published, but in many other states and even in Canada. The cover of the first issue in this volume lists 30 subscription agents in as many Connecticut towns, 17 in New York state,<sup>16</sup> 4 in New Jersey, 2 in Massachusetts, 2 in Rhode Island, 2 in Vermont, 5 in Maryland, 2 in South Carolina, and 3 in British North America. In addition an agent was listed in far-away New Orleans—the Rev. Philander Chase, later to be the first bishop of Illinois.

An interesting commentary on the unstable currency situation of the day is the notice of the publishers, O. Steele & Co., of New Haven:<sup>17</sup>

"As applications are frequently made to us, to receive Eastern Bills in payment for the Magazine, we deem it expedient to give this public notice, that in consequence of the generally weakened confidence, as respects that species of currency, among all who have claims against us, we can no longer accept it in discharge of our claims upon others."

It is difficult to trace the beginnings and early development of advertising in the Church press, because most of the early advertisements were on the covers, and these have been removed in the bound volumes that have come to the present day.

<sup>14</sup>The issues of the Magazine do not indicate who he was, but Beardsley, *op. cit.*, p. 47, says that late in 1805 Dr. Tillotson Bronson, formerly of Waterbury, "removed to New Haven, to conduct the *Churchman's Magazine*. He was the editor of that useful periodical . . . and except during the interval of its publication out of the Diocese he continued to add to his other labors the responsibility of arranging the matter and superintending the press." Cf. *Churchman's Magazine*, April, 1804, p. i.

<sup>15</sup>"In the first four years, at New Haven, there were three different printers; then the magazine went to New York, then to Elizabethtown, N. J., then it came back to Connecticut—first to Hartford and then to Middletown."—Brewer, Rev. Clifton H., *A History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church to 1835*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1924, p. 129.

<sup>16</sup>Including Messrs. T. & J. Swords in New York City, who were later to become its publishers.

<sup>17</sup>*Churchman's Magazine*. Vol. V, No. 1, January, 1808.

The first advertisement that I have been able to find is a full page one on the inside back cover of the *Churchman's Magazine* of January, 1808.<sup>18</sup> This consists of a list of religious books, mostly Anglican, for sale by Bronson, Walter & Co., whose store was on State street, in New Haven, just under the printing office of the *Churchman's Magazine*.

After this publication was transferred to Messrs. T. & J. Swords of New York, in April, 1808, those enterprising gentlemen regularly used the second, third, and fourth cover pages for announcements of the numerous Episcopal Church publications issued by them.

The name of the Rev. Dr. John Henry Hobart appeared in the February, 1808, issue of the *Churchman's Magazine*, wherein was printed a lengthy extract from his *Apology for Apostolic Order*. Two months later this publication was issued from New York instead of New Haven, with Dr. Hobart as proprietor and editor, and Messrs. T. & J. Swords, 160 Pearl street, as publishers.<sup>19</sup> Dr. Hobart had been (anonymously) an associate editor since the beginning of that year, and probably also financially interested in it;<sup>20</sup> but with this issue he assumed full responsibility for the *Churchman's Magazine*.

Thus began one of the most notable editorial careers in the history of the Episcopal Church. Despite his pressing duties as successively assistant and rector of Trinity Church, then as now one of the foremost parishes of the Church, and later as bishop of New York, Dr. Hobart gave a considerable part of his time to editorial work, and his became by far the ablest editorial pen in the Episcopal Church, and one of the foremost in all the religious press of his day.

Of this remarkable Churchman Bishop Coleman of Delaware wrote:<sup>21</sup>

"It is natural in connection with Bishop White to give some account of Bishop Hobart. While in some respects they were quite dissimilar, there existed between them great intimacy and affection, and by the very contrast in their characters they were enabled the more to benefit that Church to which they were so

<sup>18</sup>There is an unbound copy in the New York Public Library, but the front cover has been torn off and the back one is tattered and worn. There are also several copies of early issues, a few of them with covers, in the Yale library to which they were given by Dr. E. C. Chorley.

<sup>19</sup>Dr. Brewer says (*op. cit.*, p. 130): "Just as all was going well on this basis a rival magazine threatened to appear in New York City, under the direction of John Henry Hobart. The *Churchman's Magazine* feared that two similar periodicals could not well exist so near each other and, after some negotiations, discreetly put itself into Hobart's hands and removed to New York. By this expedient it kept its standing among Episcopalian as 'The only periodical publication devoted to the interests of their venerable and apostolic church.'"

<sup>20</sup>Cf. *Archives of General Convention*, Vol. III, p. 420.

<sup>21</sup>Coleman, L., *The Church in America*. N. Y., 1895, pp. 230-232.

ardently attached. John Henry Hobart was born in Philadelphia in the year 1775, and died in Auburn, New York, September, 12, 1830. The permanent influence which he exerted would seem to belong to a man of more years, but the circumstances of the times in which he lived, as well as his strong characteristics, compelled him to be a controversialist. He had a ready pen, and was among the bravest of men. While he encountered not a little bitter and unjust opposition, yet he had no warmer friends than some of those who differed from his ecclesiastical views. The Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, a distinguished Calvinistic divine, was perhaps his most determined foe, and this was his testimony: 'Were I compelled to entrust the safety of my country to any one man, that man should be John Henry Hobart.' At his ordination to the priesthood (in 1800) he was appointed an assistant minister of Trinity Church New York, of which parish he subsequently became a rector. While serving in this capacity, he was elected assistant bishop of the diocese (1811), and upon Bishop Moore's death (1816) he succeeded to the bishopric. He laboured incessantly in the discharge of the manifold duties pertaining to the care of a large territory and of rapidly multiplying churches. He was an effective preacher, and diligent in writing and editing volumes of a theological description, some of which (especially his *Festivals* and *Fasts*) reached a number of editions. His *Apology for Apostolic Order* still remains a valued textbook. He was very active in promoting the establishment of the General Theological Seminary, and various organizations for Church work. His reputation as a learned, loyal, and intrepid Churchman grew year by year, until his advice was sought on every hand. In the various gatherings of the clergy and laity which he attended, he became almost essential, so that it was hardly any exaggeration to speak of him, as the Rev. Dr. Lyell of New York did, as 'one who in the councils of the Church, if he were present it seemed that all were present there, and who if he were missing no one could fill his place.' His episcopate has been termed an epoch or turning-point in the history of the American Church. Unquestionably, it was very fruitful of substantial growth; and his name must ever have a high place among our ecclesiastical heroes. His well-known motto was 'Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order.'"

Dr. Hobart's first action was to change the *Churchman's Magazine* from a 40-page monthly to an 80-page bi-monthly, with the quaint explanation: "This arrangement, it is thought, will prove on many accounts more convenient and eligible than the former."

The annual subscription price of the *Churchman's Magazine* was \$1.50, with a commission of 12-1/2 per cent to agents. To this the enterprising Dr. Hobart added a commission of 10 per cent to the diocesan convention of the state in which the subscriber lived. In this

way he wisely built up Church loyalty and at the same time he allayed any suspicions diocesan authorities might have of a "foreign" church periodical—for despite the adoption of a constitution for the Church in all the states, there was still a wide measure of autonomy and rivalry between dioceses, as between the states themselves. "By this plan," wrote the new editor, "persons who subscribe for the magazine, and its patrons who exert themselves to procure subscribers, will not only fulfill the important duty of contributing to the diffusion of religious knowledge, but will secure an annual revenue to the conventions of the Churches respectively, which may be appropriated by them to pious purposes." This plan, he added, would preclude him from "all prospect of any pecuniary remuneration." Accordingly:

"He trusts that the friends of evangelical truth will not be backward in exertions to promote the circulation of a miscellany which shall be devoted to the defence and illustrate the principles of that religion, which is not less essential to the prosperity of civil society, than to the present and future felicity of man. The friends of the Protestant Episcopal Church will recollect that the *Churchman's Magazine* is the only periodical publication devoted to the interests of their venerable and apostolic church; while, among other religious denominations, various periodical miscellanies are supported with a liberal zeal, worthy of imitation. The price of the Magazine is much less than that of any similar publication, and is fixed so low that there must be few who will not have it in their power to patronize the work."

Dr. Hobart was very anxious to demonstrate and strengthen the unity of the Church which had so recently been organized independently of the mother Church of England. Accordingly in the issue of May and June, 1808, he published in full a history of the Protestant Episcopal Church written by Bishop White for the forthcoming American edition of *Rees' Cyclopaedia*. This is an exceptionally full first-hand account of the struggles of the Church in America to obtain from the mother country bishops independent of any political control—a concept of the episcopate as a catholic order in the universal Church that was at a low ebb in the 16th century Church of England.

In the same issue, Dr. Hobart outlined his editorial plans. He would, he said, "endeavour to discharge the sacred duty of exposing error and vindicating the truth in that spirit and manner, which, if they do not remove prejudices, shall never increase or confirm them, by rudely wounding the feelings, or by invading the rights of character and conscience." This declaration was a notable expression of conviction tempered by tolerance—an attribute only too often lacking in

editors of his day, both religious and secular. Moreover, Dr. Hobart actually lived up to his ideal, to a remarkable degree, even in the heated controversies in which he was not infrequently engaged.

"The *Churchman's Magazine*," he promised, "shall be devoted to the illustration and defence of the great truths of the Gospel: it shall endeavour to cherish an enlightened and warm attachment to the primitive institutions of the Protestant Episcopal Church; to excite those who belong to this venerable Church to an earnest zeal for her interests; and, above all, to 'adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour,' by that holy life and conversation, not less necessary to the honour and prosperity of the Church, than to their own personal dignity and peace."

Doubtless one of the reasons that led Hobart into the field of religious journalism was the desire to have a strong publication in which a reply could be made to attacks on the Christian religion in general and the Episcopal Church in particular. His stalwart defence of the faith and of the Church had already led him into a number of controversies, notably one with the formidable Dr. John M. Mason, a leading Presbyterian divine and editor of the *Christian's Magazine*.<sup>22</sup> Dr. Hobart came into personal contact with Dr. Mason frequently, for both were members of the board of trustees of Columbia College. This board was nearly equally balanced between Episcopal and opposing members, being composed of some of the ablest and most influential men of their day. Among them in 1801 at the time of Dr. Hobart's election were Alexander Hamilton, Brockholst Livingston, Richard Harrison, and Morgan Lewis; and subsequently there were added Rufus King, Gouverneur Morris, Egbert Benson, Nicholas Fish, DeWitt Clinton, Oliver Wolcott, and Robert Troup.<sup>23</sup> The Episcopal Church had a special claim to influence in the board, as the former King's College was Anglican in its origin, but there was strong opposition to the Church led by Dr. Mason. The biographer of Bishop Hobart describes this formidable antagonist of the youthful clergyman and editor as follows:<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup>The *Christian's Magazine* was a very controversial monthly begun in New York in 1806 under militant Evangelical Protestant auspices. Its editor was the Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, of the Associate Reformed Church of Scotland, a powerful writer and speaker, and an influential leader in religious and educational circles. Its very first article was in defense of religious controversy and its particular bête noir was episcopacy. It early began its attack on Dr. Hobart, particularly because of his two books, *A Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A.* The *Christian's Magazine* continued until 1811 and constantly opposed everything connected with the Episcopal Church.

<sup>23</sup>McVickar, John, *Professional Years of Hobart, N. Y.* 1936, p. 121.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 121-122.

"Powerful with his pen, he was still more powerful in speech, for a commanding figure and a stentorian voice, such as he possessed, are never without their influence in debate; while, at the same time, his truly great powers, both of argument and sarcasm, seemed to justify in him that disdainful self-confidence of tone and manner with which he was apt to put to silence opponents of whom he stood not in awe, and among the Episcopalian, at that time in the Board, whatever may have been their ability, there certainly was no one individual who felt willing or perhaps called upon to meet him in debate; so that he may be said to have ruled alone.

"Under these circumstances, the introduction among the Trustees of a young Episcopal clergyman, a youth in years, and a stripling in personal appearance, without name, connections, or experience, was very far from being thought, even by those who introduced him, to furnish Churchmen with a fit match for a leader so redoubted as Dr. Mason, or to arouse in that leader any fear of losing the ascendancy he had so long enjoyed. Such, too, was the popular opinion without; but wiser men from the first saw deeper."

Shortly after his controversy with Dr. Mason, Dr. Hobart entered into a controversy with the editor of the *Monthly Anthology*, Boston, who had attacked episcopacy. As the *Monthly Anthology* refused to publish Dr. Hobart's reply he inserted it in his own publication, the *Churchman's Magazine*, shortly after he became the editor of it in the fall of 1808. Before the controversy with the *Monthly Anthology* was concluded, the *Christian's Magazine* had again taken up the cudgels against Dr. Hobart, who replied in his *Churchman's Magazine*, with the assurance to his readers that "it is with reluctance we note the *Christian's Magazine* in our pages." This reply of Dr. Hobart's contains one sentence so devastating that we cannot refrain from quoting it. After stating his case he says:

"Now, let the reader pause—let him peruse the extract from the *Christian Magazine*—let him peruse the above statement—let him make the case his own; and we need not supply him with epithets by which to express his sense of the conduct of the Editor of the *Christian Magazine*."

Dr. Hobart continued his editorship of the *Churchman's Magazine* until 1811. In May of that year he was elected assistant bishop of New York, and the burdens of this office made it impossible for him to continue his editorial work. He therefore transferred the publication to his friend, the Rev. John C. Rudd, rector of St. John's Church, Elizabethtown, N. J., in the hope that he would continue it "on its

original principles."<sup>25</sup> But after the publication of the issue for December, 1811, the printing office in which the *Churchman's Magazine* was printed was destroyed by fire, with all its contents, and for the time being the *Magazine* went out of existence. No issues appeared during the war year of 1812.

The next stage of the *Churchman's Magazine* began with the issue of January-February, 1813, with the Rev. Mr. Rudd as editor. This bore the notation "New Series—Volume I number 1." The magazine was to contain "seventy or eighty" octavo pages, and was priced as before at \$1.50 a year.

Mr. Rudd maintained the *Churchman's Magazine* at a high standard, though perhaps it was not quite as interesting and timely as in Bishop Hobart's regime. Curiously enough, though publication was begun in the midst of a war with England, no notice whatever seems to have been taken of that fact. But the wide scope of the *Magazine's* interest in religious affairs is shown by the fact that during 1813 items under "Religious Intelligence" deal with the spread of Christianity in such diverse places as China (Tartary), India, Africa, New South Wales and Spanish America. The last-named deals with the laying of the corner-stone of an Anglican Church at Belize, Honduras, on June 20, 1812—"the first Protestant church ever erected in Spanish America."<sup>26</sup> In this country, news items were reported from Massachusetts to South Carolina, the conventions of the various dioceses being reported with especial thoroughness. Thus the issues for these years, when the Church in this country was beginning to find itself and to grow from diocesanism to a larger corporate consciousness, are of particular historical value.

But the *Churchman's Magazine* no longer had the Episcopal Church field to itself. In the same month in which it resumed publication at Elizabethtown, only a few miles away in Burlington, N. J., the *Quarterly Theological Magazine* was begun. The title page describes this rather ponderous publication as "conducted principally by members of the Protestant Episcopal Church," and the name of Samuel Allinson is given as publisher and proprietor. On the title page of volume III the Rev. Drs. Charles H. Wharton, rector of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, N. J., and James Abercrombie, senior assistant of Christ, St. Peter's, and St. James' Churches, Philadelphia, are given as editors. The office

<sup>25</sup>See Bishop Hobart's letter on this subject, quoted in *McVicker's Professional Years of Hobart*, *Ibid.*, pp. 241-243.

<sup>26</sup>*Churchman's Magazine*, July-August, 1813, p. 298. Belize, now the capital of British Honduras, is today the see city of the bishopric of British Honduras and Central America, whose present occupant is also archbishop of the West Indies.

of publication had also been moved to Philadelphia, with Moses Thomas as publisher and J. Maxwell, printer.

The *Quarterly Theological Magazine* issued four numbers a year, approximately 250 pages each, the subscription price being \$5.00 a year. While some space was given to news, the magazine was primarily concerned with theological articles, biographies, sermons, essays, and reviews. The last issue extant is that of April, 1814, and apparently the publication was discontinued at that time, partly because foreign journals could not be obtained from Europe owing to the war, and partly—probably mostly—on account of lack of support.

The *Churchman's Magazine* continued, however, until the summer of 1815, when it was quietly discontinued. The reason for its sudden demise is obscure. Certainly the editor expected to continue it, for a note in the last issue requests the bishops to send him notices of their official acts, explains a confusion in numbering the issues, and concludes: "The next number, for July and August, will be published about the middle of September."<sup>27</sup>

But the *Churchman's Magazine* was destined to another revival, this time again in Connecticut, where it had had its origin. This was in January, 1821, when a new volume was begun with the Rt. Rev. Thomas Church Brownell, bishop of Connecticut, as editor, "with the assistance of some of the clergy." Publication was undertaken as a result of a resolution of the diocesan convention, and the magazine began with an apology: "The editors, being severally engaged in extensive and laborious professional duties, will probably find but little leisure to bestow on this work."<sup>28</sup> As before, this method proved unworkable. At first there were some interesting original contributions, such as an account of the consecration of the first American bishop, Samuel Seabury, a critical review of Bishop White's *Memoirs of the Church*, and so on. But gradually the magazine came to consist mostly of reprints from foreign journals, supplemented by reports of official Church bodies and sermons. It was suffered to expire a third time in 1823—again unexpectedly, for the last number advised that it was to be continued by the Rev. G. B. Noble.

But it did not actually appear again until 1825, when Dr. Tillotson Bronson (who had once before been editor), president of the Episcopal Academy, Cheshire, Connecticut, revived it with a 32-page issue dated April, 1825, and described as "volume IV, number 1." In a prefatory

<sup>27</sup>Commenting on this discontinuance, a later editor observed (in the issue of April, 1825): "The reasons of its relinquishment have been fully explained." Still later (December, 1826, p. 262) this was attributed to "some embarrassment on the part of the person upon whom the pecuniary responsibility depended."

<sup>28</sup>*Churchman's Magazine*, January, 1821, p. 1.

note, Dr. Bronson recited the history of the magazine, pointing out its pioneer character and laying its previous failures to the fact that "divided responsibility usually shrinks below each one's share." It was now being revived "at some pecuniary expense, and risk of more, should the patronage fall materially short of what is calculated."

Under Dr. Bronson the *Churchman's Magazine* enjoyed a measure of success and esteem, though the editor did not obtain the cooperation for which he had hoped. "Documents could not be obtained for Biographical sketches of eminent and worthy persons," he complained in April, 1826, "or anecdotes of the foundation and history of the Church in different places, as was believed might be collected."

Yet on the whole Dr. Bronson's editorship was second only to Dr. Hobart's and had he lived longer he might have established the *Churchman's Magazine* on a firm permanent foundation. Unhappily he died on September 6, 1826, being engaged in writing a reply to a reader's inquiry when stricken with his last brief illness. Dr. Bronson was the sole proprietor of the paper at the time, but some of his fellow-clergymen carried the volume to completion with the issue of March, 1827, "with a sole view of benefitting the family of a much beloved friend." The circulation of the magazine at the time of Dr. Bronson's death was "more than a thousand subscribers."<sup>29</sup>

In the last issue of the *Churchman's Magazine* there was given a full prospectus of a weekly paper, the *Episcopal Watchman*, to be published "in the cities of Hartford, Middletown, New-Haven, and Boston," to which readers of the expiring publication were urged to subscribe.

So ended the first regular periodical of the Episcopal Church, after a varied career covering 23 years—albeit with lapses totalling about eight years. Its death in 1827 was the final one, and brought to a close the pioneer era in the journalism of the Episcopal Church.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup>December, 1826, p. 262. This issue contains an excellent account of Dr. Bronson's life and work. See also William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. V, pp. 358-363, for a good biography of Bronson, of whose editorial work it is said: "His labors in this field were highly appreciated, and the volumes which he edited are still regarded as creditable alike to his talents and his learning."

<sup>30</sup>There was another publication entitled the *Churchman's Monthly Magazine* begun in 1854. But it was quite different from the earlier *Churchman's Magazine* and claimed no kinship with it. Moreover the lapse of a quarter of a century is too long to consider the later publication in any sense a revival of the earlier.

### 3. THE CHRISTIAN REGISTER AND MORAL AND THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

We have seen that when Dr. Hobart was elevated to the episcopate he felt that he could no longer continue the burden of editing the *Churchman's Magazine*, and so transferred it to the Rev. John C. Rudd. This left New York without a Church paper, and indeed the suspension of the magazine in 1816 threatened to leave the Episcopal Church without any periodical of general circulation.

Bishop Hobart was a firm believer in the power and value of a Church press. It was probably through his initiative, therefore, that the *Christian Register and Moral and Theological Review* was inaugurated with an issue dated July, 1816. The publishers were those loyal Churchmen and energetic business men, Thomas and James Swords, who had been publishers of the *Churchman's Magazine* during Hobart's editorship. The editor was an intimate friend of Bishop Hobart—the Rev. Thomas Yardley How, assistant rector of Trinity Church.

How was an interesting character.<sup>31</sup> While a student at the College of New Jersey (now Princeton) he had formed a close friendship with Hobart. Admitted to the bar, he had a career as a successful lawyer until a religious controversy in the columns of the *Albany Sentinel*, in which he staunchly defended the Church, caused his friends to urge him to take holy orders. This he did, being ordained in 1808, and becoming an assistant minister at Trinity while still a deacon. He has been described by an able historian<sup>32</sup> as "an accomplished scholar, a sound divine, and a clear and forcible reasoner." Such was the man who for its short but useful lifetime of less than two years ably conducted the *Christian Register*.

The *Christian Register* was a semi-annual publication, each issue consisting of some 250 pages octavo. The price was \$1.25 an issue, or \$2.50 a volume. There were only three issues in all, but they are significant to the historian because their bulk permitted the publication of long documents, such as proceedings of diocesan conventions, reports of Bible societies, etc. "Foreign and Domestic Intelligence" filled the bulk of the issues, and taken as a whole gave a fairly full picture of the state of the Church in 1816 and 1817—a period in which it was just beginning to waken from the weakness and apathy of the years immediately following the Revolution. Other sections dealt with biography (only a few sketches of little significance), religious com-

<sup>31</sup>See the sketch of his life in *Archives of General Convention*, Vol. V, p. 435; cf. *McVickar's Professional Years of Hobart*.

<sup>32</sup>Dr. Berrian in a *Historical Sketch*, p. 226, quoted in *Archives of General Convention*.

munications (theological, "select" and "original"), reviews (many, varied, and long), poetry (ponderous and anonymous), and "anecdotes of pious characters." The "anecdotes" of early 19th century publications, it should be noted, were by no means what the term signifies to the modern reader; they were pious incidents told in an intensely moralistic manner as example for emulation. They were great favorites, in the secular as well as the religious press.

The *Christian Register* came to an abrupt end, and evidently an unforeseen one, for the last issue, that of July, 1817, closes with the promise that a full list of the clergy of the Episcopal Church "from their first settlement to the present time" would be published in the next issue. Unfortunately the brilliant and promising How, to the surprise and dismay of his many friends, became involved in a moral scandal so grave that Bishop Hobart was regretfully compelled to suspend him in 1817 and subsequently to depose him from the priesthood of the Church. With his fall, the *Christian Register* came to an end.

#### 4. THE CHRISTIAN JOURNAL

But the Church was not left this time without a periodical in New York. Even before the *Christian Register* was discontinued, the *Christian Journal and Literary Register* was begun, its first issue being dated January 22, 1817. The publishers were again Messrs. T. & J. Swords, and the prospectus in the first issue announced that it was "to appear in numbers, one number every two weeks, at \$1.00 a year."<sup>33</sup> Issued "under the inspection of the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hobart," the purpose of the new periodical was stated as follows:

"It shall be devoted to theological and miscellaneous subjects, and particularly to interesting religious and literary intelligence, and biographical and obituary notices. Besides occasional original matter, it shall contain selections from the various British periodical works, literary and religious. Arrangements have been made with agents in England, to transmit these works regularly to us as they issue from the press. The readers of the *Christian Journal* will thus be furnished, in the speediest mode, with valuable and interesting selections from the latest British periodical publications.

"While it shall be the object of the *Journal* to record important religious events in general, particular regard will be paid to those which relate to the Protestant Episcopal Church

"It shall thus be the object of the *Christian Journal* to present a summary of the interesting opinions, elucidations, and

<sup>33</sup>*Christian Journal and Literary Register*, January 22, 1817.

reasonings on theological subjects, which are contained in the publications of the present day; and it shall be occasionally enriched with the sentiments of those masters of theology who were the glory of the days that are past, and whose writings exhibit the soundest views of Christian doctrine and order, and the highest fervours of pious feeling . . .

"It shall be published in a large octavo size, and regularly paged; and at the close of a volume a neat title page will be given.

"Two numbers will be published in a month. The work being issued solely from an earnest desire to promote the interests of religion, with the view to its general circulation, it will be furnished at the low rate of one dollar a year, payable in advance."

The first issue contained sixteen pages, two columns to a page, and its contents were as follows:

Prospectus

The Character of Luther, with Remarks on the Principles of the Reformation (abridged from *British Review*.) 9 cols.

The Pastor's Visit to the Cottage. From a late Publication of the Rev. J. Cunningham, author of "The Velvet Cushion." 2-1/2 cols.

The Episcopal Church in Scotland. From the *British Critic*. Introductory Paragraph showing relation of Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. to same. 4 cols.

Lines written by the poet Mason, at the age of 72. Sonnet.

Man's Demerit. ". . . from the forcible pen of the judicious Hooker." 1-1/2 cols.

The Liturgy. From a late Charge of the Bishop of Gloucester. 1/2 col.

Review of *Bertram, or the Castle of St. Aldebrand*, a tragedy in 5 acts. By the Rev. R. C. Maturin. From the *British Review*. 4½ cols. This was described as being "in the taste of Lord Byron,"—a taste of which the reviewer evidently vigorously disapproved, for he added: "We venture to advise the reverend dramatist, for the sake of the holy and immortal interests connected with his profession, to withdraw himself from all connexion with Lord Byron's tainted muse and to the greatest distance he possibly can from the circle within which the demons of sen-

timental profligacy exert their pernicious incantations. . . . Rotten principles and a bastard sort of sentiment, such, in short, as have been imported into this country from German moralists and poets, form the interest of this stormy and extravagant composition."

Anecdote of Viscount Barrington (brief).

Silliman's and Simond's Travels. From the *Quarterly Review*.

Story of a man, one Silliman, who "visited Europe with the pleasant and honourable commission to purchase philosophical and chemical apparatus, and books for Yale College, in Connecticut." He finds "that the English Universities have been greatly misrepresented in America . . . His own (American) colleges are more respectable than he had imagined, although in many things certainly inferior."

Church at Canadaigue, Ontario County, N. Y. 3 cols. and wood engraving.

The P. E. Missionary Society of Young Men. Account of its organization at Trinity Church, New York City, Jan. 21, 1817. 1 col. plus.

The Society in England for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Report of year's work (£44,215-9-7, year's receipts.)

New Family Bible. An advertisement of T. & J. Swords.

Notes on new books. 1 col. plus.

The *Christian Journal* continued to the end of 1830. The last few issues were devoted to memorabilia of Bishop Hobart, who died September 12, 1830. The *Christian Journal* did not long survive the death of its sponsor. In its valedictory in December, 1830, it said that its discontinuance was "not to be ascribed to weariness of toil," but to the fact that "it cannot be expected that a work of this kind can be sustained without the aid of adequate funds, and it is altogether from the want of this aid that the *Christian Journal* now ceases to exist."

The *Christian Journal* set a high standard of excellence for its day.

### CHAPTER III

### OTHER EARLY PERIODICALS

1800-1820

THE first two decades of the 19th century saw the rise and fall of a considerable number of periodicals of the Episcopal Church in various parts of this country.<sup>1</sup>

As Dr. Manross has observed:<sup>2</sup>

“The early nineteenth century was an era of cheap printing such as must excite the envy of everyone with an itching pen, and this fact, combined with the high postage rates, which restricted most of the periodicals to a sectional circulation, led to a great multiplication of journals of all sorts, religious or otherwise.”

#### 1. *WASHINGTON THEOLOGICAL REPERTORY* (1819-1828)

This was a monthly publication begun in August, 1819, devoted to disseminating “principles of religion and piety.” Any profits were to go to the Education Society, to aid young men studying for the ministry, and to the American Colonization Society, which was organized to colonize freed Negro slaves in America. The *Washington Theological Repertory* was established and for many years published by the Rev. William H. Wilmer of Alexandria.

Dr. Wilmer was by long odds the leading Churchman in Virginia until his death in 1827.<sup>3</sup> In a letter to Benjamin Allen he mentions that he is agent for the sale of the *Christian Observer*, the *Christian Journal* and the *Christian Register*, and the *Christian Observer* is mentioned frequently in his letters to Thomas G. Allen.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>One of these, the *Layman's Magazine* (1815-1816) of Martinsburg, Virginia, is of such unique character, despite its short life, that it is given a special section at the beginning of the next chapter. As to the rest they were generally of transient value, and so may be very briefly summarized here.

<sup>2</sup>Op. cit., *A History of the American Episcopal Church*, pp. 243-244. For the postage rates on newspapers and magazines, 1792-1845, see the appendix at the end of this chapter.

<sup>3</sup>Information from the Rev. Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon, historiographer of the diocese of Virginia. See also Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia*; Brewer, *A History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church*, etc.

<sup>4</sup>A copy of this correspondence, which is unpublished, is in the possession of Dr. Brydon, to whom the author is indebted for this information.

The *Washington Theological Repertory* was a monthly periodical, 32 pages octavo, and the subscription price was \$2.00 a year.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Wilmer was assisted in the editorship by the Rev. Messrs. William Hawley, Oliver Norris, and Reuel Keith, and others. Beginning with Vol. 5,<sup>6</sup> the principal editor was the Rev. William Hawley and the title was expanded to the formidable one, the *Washington Theological Repertory and Churchman's Guide*. The last issue of this periodical was that of December, 1830, but a final valedictory address was published in the *Philadelphia Recorder*,<sup>7</sup> which succeeded the *Repertory*.

## 2. THE WATCHMAN

Exceptionally short lived was a periodical published at New Haven, Connecticut, in 1819, under the title, *The Watchman*. Of this Dr. Brewer says:<sup>8</sup>

"A frankly militant publication appeared in March, 1819, at New Haven, with the significant name, *The Watchman*. Pamphlets hostile to the Episcopal Church had been issued, this little magazine complained, and it was the *Watchman's* intention to 'turn these weapons of assault back' upon the adversaries. In the first (and probably the only) issue, the *Watchman* carried out this aggressive purpose under the titles 'A gross Deception Exposed,' 'Presbyterian Ordination Doubtful,' and 'New England Congregational Ordinations.' The paper was to be published 'in occasional numbers . . . as occasion may require.' Ten issues would constitute a volume. Communications were to be addressed to John Babcock and [name torn off].<sup>9</sup> No trace of any issue after the first has appeared, and it seems likely that, since there were further 'occasions' for such controversies as the *Watchman* entered, the little publication ceased because of lack of patronage, or perhaps because in some way its backers became convinced that no real good could result from such open and systematic controversy."

## 3. QUARTERLY THEOLOGICAL MAGAZINE

I have already referred briefly<sup>10</sup> to this periodical which had a short life and probably a very small circulation. Published originally

<sup>5</sup>*Washington Theological Repertory*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 1-2.

<sup>6</sup>August, 1823.

<sup>7</sup>*Philadelphia Recorder*, March 5, 1831, p. 194.

<sup>8</sup>The author has been unable to consult a copy of the single issue of this periodical that is extant and consequently has quoted this description of it from Brewer, *History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church*, p. 277.

<sup>9</sup>The *Watchman*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 1. The issue was 24 pp., 12mo. It cost eight cents. (Dr. Brewer's reference.)

<sup>10</sup>See above, Chapter II, p. 220. For biographies of Wharton and Abercrombie, see Wm. B. Sprague, "Annals of the American Pulpit," pp. 335-342, 392-399.

in New Jersey it soon removed to Philadelphia, but its life apparently extended only from January to October of 1813. Its principal editors were the Rev. Charles H. Wharton of Burlington and the Rev. James Abercrombie of Philadelphia.

While published under auspices of the Episcopal Church, the *Quarterly Theological Magazine* was intended to subserve . . . "the interests of our common Christianity," and the editors hoped that it would prove acceptable to religious readers of every denomination. In their prospectus<sup>11</sup> they expressed a desire to "discard the sectarian spirit so long at variance with that spirit of unity, and that bond of peace, which ought to constitute the distinguishing marks of all Christian societies." To this end they took as their motto the quotation from Bishop Horne: "The devotions among Christians, about lesser matters, prove the truth of those great and fundamental points in which they agree." Probably the failure of this publication was due in part to the fact that it was ahead of its time in this respect.

The last issue of this periodical was that for October, 1813. In this issue the editors informed the patrons "that its publication will be suspended for a few months" stating that this interruption is necessary because of "the difficulty of obtaining theological publications and intelligence from Europe; together with some considerations of primary essentials of the work." However, publication was never resumed.

### APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

#### *Postage Rates on Newspapers and Magazines: 1792-1845*<sup>12</sup>

1792: All *newspapers* conveyed by mail for any distance not more than 100 miles, 1 cent; over 100 miles, 1½ cents.

1794: Reenacted the above rate but fixed the rate for single newspapers sent from one place to another "in the same State" at 1 cent each, regardless of distance. (This special rate for intrastate circulation stimulated the establishment of journals within each State.)

*Magazines and pamphlets:* 1 cent per sheet for not exceeding 50 miles; 1½ cents for over 50 miles and not exceeding 100 miles; and 2 cents for any greater distance.

1799: Those who received newspapers by post required to pay the amount of one quarter's postage in advance.

1815-1816: Postage rates increased 50 per cent (probably due to the cost of the War of 1812). The increases were repealed and the original rates restored March 31, 1816.

<sup>11</sup>*Quarterly Theological Magazine, Vol. I, No. 1.*

<sup>12</sup>*Abstracted from "Postage Rates: 1789-1930", published by the United States Post Office Department, pp. 2-5.*

1816-1825: "Every 4 folio pages, or 8 quarto pages, or 16 octavo pages, of a pamphlet or magazine shall be considered a sheet," and the surplus pages of any pamphlet or magazine were also considered a sheet.

1825-1845: *Newspapers* conveyed by mail, 1 cent for any distance not more than 100 miles; 1½ cents for any greater distance. Single newspapers from any one place to another *in the same State*, 1 cent.

*Magazines and pamphlets* published periodically, transported in the mails to subscribers, 1½ cents a sheet for any distance not exceeding 100 miles, and 2½ cents for any greater distance.

Magazines and pamphlets not periodically published, 4 cents on each sheet for any distance not exceeding 100 miles, and 6 cents for any greater distance.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE FIRST CHURCH WEEKLIES

**F**REDERIC HUDSON<sup>1</sup> devotes a chapter to a rather extensive discussion of the question, "What was the first religious newspaper in America?" Unfortunately, he does not first answer the prior question, "What is a religious newspaper?" In religious journalism there is not a very clear-cut distinction between the newspaper and the review or magazine. It does not seem fair to base the argument on size, as are some of the claims set forth in Hudson's book. Nor can content be the sole claim, for even the earliest religious periodicals contained some news, or "intelligence," as they called it.

Generally speaking, however, a weekly religious publication may be considered to some extent a newspaper, while the fortnightly, monthly, and quarterly periodicals may be more properly described as magazines or reviews. The question may therefore be more properly asked: Which was the first weekly periodical?

So far as the Episcopal Church is concerned, the answer to this question is probably to be found in an interesting little paper called the *Layman's Magazine*,<sup>2</sup> published at Martinsburg, Virginia, in 1815 and 1816. This is a unique publication in many ways and is quite rare.<sup>3</sup>

#### 1. THE LAYMAN'S MAGAZINE

The *Layman's Magazine* was small, each issue containing eight pages, two columns to a page, in a size a little larger than a normal octavo. Its makeup was surprisingly modern in many ways. It had no cover, displaying its title in a banner at the top of page one, like a present-day newspaper, and under that as a motto: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind—and thy neighbor as thyself."<sup>4</sup> Beneath that was the date-line

<sup>1</sup>Hudson, F., *Journalism in the United States*. N. Y., Harpers, 1875.

<sup>2</sup>Or *Lay-Man's Magazine*, as the title is given.

<sup>3</sup>The only copies the author has been able to locate are in the library of the General Theological Seminary, which has a bound volume containing Nos. 1 to 16, and Nos. 18, 19, 22, 23, 25 to 33, 35 to 38, and 41 to 51. It is not mentioned in Brewer, *History of Religious Education*, which lists most of the Church periodicals of this period.

<sup>4</sup>It may be remarked in passing that this was one of the few 19th century religious periodicals that consistently followed this precept. Most of them forgot it when they got into the realm of controversy and polemics.

between double rules, also in a close approximation to present-day style, with volume and number at the sides.

The editor of this interesting periodical was a notable character, Benjamin Allen.<sup>5</sup> He was born in Hudson, N. Y., in 1789, and achieved some fame as a poet. Raised a Presbyterian, a comparison of the distinctive features of the two Churches led him to become an Episcopalian, and he became an active lay reader under Bishop Moore of Virginia, serving under the direction of the Rev. William Meade. It was while he was a lay reader that he founded the *Layman's Magazine*. Later he was ordained, and after a ministry of several years in Jefferson and Berkeley counties, Virginia, he went to Philadelphia, where he was rector of St. Paul's Church until his death in 1829. Martinsburg was and is the county seat of Berkeley County, which was then in Virginia but is now in the state of West Virginia.

The truly apostolic zeal of Benjamin Allen is shown by the account of his activities given by Bishop Meade, who, after describing the leading Virginia clergymen of the day, wrote:<sup>6</sup>

"Having thus brought the history of the ministers and churches of Norborne parish to the time when, by God's blessing, a new order of things commenced, I now proceed to make mention of the chief instrument by which the revival was effected. On Christmas eve, in the year 1814, a little after dark, there entered into my house a gentleman who introduced himself to me as Mr. Allen, from New York, with letters of introduction from Bishop Moore and Dr. Wilmer, certifying that he was a candidate for Orders, and wished employment in the valley as a lay-reader. Although the roads were in their worst condition, much rain having fallen, he had in two short days walked from Alexandria to my house, about sixty miles. Carrying him with me to the Old Chapel the next day, we met with Mr. Beverley Whiting and his sister, Miss Betsy, from Jefferson county, who had, as they and others near them afterward did, come about fifteen miles to church through bad roads. Into their hands I consigned Mr. Allen, on a horse which I had lent him. In just two weeks he returned in high spirits. He had itinerated through the whole of Jefferson and Berkeley counties, found out all the principal families who were still attached to the Church, established at least twelve places for services, and received a kind invitation from Mr. Whiting and his sister to bring his little family to their house

<sup>5</sup>A splendid biography of Benjamin Allen was written by his brother, the Rev. Thomas G. Allen. This Memoir of the Rev. Benjamin Allen (Philadelphia, 1832), contains many interesting and valuable references to the *Layman's Magazine* and other contemporary religious periodicals. Also, Sprague, V, 589-596.

<sup>6</sup>From Bishop Meade's *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, originally published in 1857 and largely reprinted in Bishop Peterkin's *Records of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Western Virginia and East Virginia*, 1902. This quotation is taken from the latter publication, pp. 494-496.

and make it a home for the present. To Alexandria he immediately returned, where his wife and infant were, and without delay, in a spell of bitter cold weather in the month of January, brought them up in a road-wagon of Mr. Whiting's, on its return from Alexandria, to which it had carried a load of flour.

"Mr. Whiting's was his home for a considerable time,—for years indeed; and even after a parsonage was provided his visits to that abode of hospitality were frequent and long. From this time until the year 1821, with feeble health, the pressure of debt upon him, a growing family, he perhaps rode as great a distance, preached as often, studied his Bible as much, and prepared as many things for the press, as any man of his day. No one had a better opportunity than myself of knowing this, for I had often to go the rounds with him, doing more duty from necessity than I ever did before or have done since. Sleeping in the room with him, often I have seen him watch the morning light with his little Bible, and reading it when others were sleeping. I have travelled with him, and seen that Bible, or some other book, in his hand on horseback, and during any little spare time in private hours busy with his pen preparing something for the press.

"While thus itinerating in these counties, and also in the adjoining county in Maryland, he was conducting a little paper called the '*Layman's Magazine*,' and actually abridged and published the *History of the Reformation* by Burnet, in a small volume, and compiled a history of the whole Church in two octavo volumes. All this he did while, like an honest man, he was paying his debts out of a small salary and the scanty profits of these publications, if indeed there were any. For nine years he thus laboured, contracting his sphere, though not his diligence, by the introduction of one or two ministers into some of the numerous places he had taken in charge, when he was called to St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, being the next choice to Bishop McIlvaine. His labours in such a congregation and city were of course not diminished. He again issued a religious magazine, and engaged in every plan for promoting Sunday-schools, infant-schools, Bible classes, missionary societies, and all such things, being especially interested in Bishop Chase's College in Ohio."

Of his decision to publish this periodical, Benjamin Allen wrote to his brother on December 5, 1815,<sup>7</sup>

"I am publishing for the use of my people a paper called the *Layman's Magazine*. I have directed the publisher to send the first numbers to you. I wish to have this widely circulated, as I shall take great pains to insert such material as shall convince the people there is piety in our Church, and that she is

<sup>7</sup>*Memoir of Benjamin Allen*, p. 138.

flourishing in other lands beside Virginia. If you like it, I wish you would get your people to take it, and send me their names as speedily as possible—\$1.50 per annum, published weekly. I have nothing to do with it, except furnishing the matter. I wish you would take pains to circulate it, for I believe it will do good. I shall draw largely from the *Christian Observer*."

Later he writes, "The printer in Martinsburg has generously undertaken to issue it at his own risk, and I must see him unhurt in it." The imprint, beginning with No. 10, January 18, 1816, was: "Printed by John Alburtis, Martinsburgh, Virginia."

The first number of the *Layman's Magazine* begins with the statement that "Every new enterprise in which man engages, should be preceded by looking to God for his blessing," and therefore invokes the Prayer Book collect:

"Direct us, O Lord, in all our doings, with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help; that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy holy Name, and finally, by thy mercy, obtain everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

The next few sentences might well be used *verbatim* as the preface to a periodical begun in 1942:

"We live in astonishing times. Revolution after revolution stalks across our field of vision. The very elements of society seem in wild uproar. The pillars of ancient kingdoms totter to their fall. Empires themselves crumble in the dust. We behold not a few thousands, as in former years, but millions marshalled to the field of combat. We see the blood of the human family rolling (*sic*) in torrents; we hear the groans of myriads of orphans. The destroying angel is hurling tempest after tempest of desolation across the face of the globe."

A vivid piece of writing, and as modern as tomorrow's newspaper!

The writer believed that the end of the world was almost in sight. "We know," he wrote, that

"Jesus shall reign where'er the Sun  
Doth his successive journeys run:

therefore we cannot but hope that the times now passing over us are indications of the great millenium."

The object of his periodical, the editor added, was to act as a herald of the Cross. Then, with what appears to the modern reader as a terrific

anti-climax, he says: "Essays to do good will from time to time appear in our pages."

The *Layman's Magazine* contained a surprising variety of material, considering its small size. One feature was the publication of series of stories, the first three of which were entitled *The Cottager's Wife*, *The Dairyman's Daughter*, and *The Young Cottager*.<sup>8</sup>

The subscription price of the *Layman's Magazine* was \$1.50 a year if paid within two months—later extended to six months—of the beginning of the subscription; "where payment is longer delayed, two dollars per annum will be expected."

With the fourth number, Church news from Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and other states began to be included. These items were prefixed with a very business-like date-line: "New Haven (Conn.), Dec. 1."

In the issue of February 22, 1816 (Washington's Birthday), a long extract is given from "General Washington's circular letter to the Governors of the several states," which the editor says "is introduced . . . to refute the assertion frequently repeated, that notwithstanding the recognitions so often and so solemnly made by the author of the providence of God, he was yet really not a believer in divine revelation."

One really good poem is contained in the issue of September 12, 1816—*A Night in a Stage Coach*, being a meditation on the way between London and Bristol, by James Montgomery.<sup>9</sup>

The last issue of the *Layman's Magazine* now available is the issue of November 7, 1816. Whether others were published is not clear, but this issue contained the usual "advertisement" offering a discount to subscribers who would obtain "two other responsible subscribers."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup>These were familiar Sunday School tracts of the day, widely used throughout the Episcopal Church, as well as the Church of England, in which they originated. The author was the Rev. Legh Richmond, a Bedfordshire rector, and the narratives originally appeared in England in the *Christian Guardian*. In the preface to a collection of them in book form (*Annals of the Poor*, Baltimore: Neal, Willis & Cole, 2nd ed., 1816), the author says: "The *Dairyman's Daughter* has been printed and circulated as a Tract, in various languages, and through different channels. About five hundred thousand copies have been thus distributed within less than three years, chiefly at a very low price, for the benefit of the poor."

<sup>9</sup>James Montgomery (1771-1854), British poet and journalist, editor for 30 years of the Sheffield "Iris," and author of "Lectures on Poetry and General Literature" (1833), was probably the author. Seventeen of his hymns are still in the official *Hymnal* (1916 edition) of the American Episcopal Church. See *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1941 edition), Volume 15, p. 766.

<sup>10</sup>The *Layman's Magazine* was a remarkably well-edited little paper—the first weekly of the Episcopal Church—and it deserved a wider support and longer life than it seems to have had.

2. *THE SUNDAY VISITANT (1818-1819).*

The second weekly publication of the Episcopal Church also appeared in the South, this time at Charleston, South Carolina. This was *The Sunday Visitant or Weekly Repository of Christian Knowledge*, the first issue of which was dated January 3, 1818. Of it Dr. Brewer writes:<sup>11</sup>

"This was a little paper, four small folio pages each issue, edited by the Rev. Andrew Fowler. It was designed to be read on Sundays, and was 'particularly calculated for the use of young persons.'<sup>12</sup> These purposes made the periodical somewhat different from those that have been described; its pages contained many explanations of Biblical passages and of Prayer Book and Church principles. It was not precisely a children's magazine, however, for most of its material was too advanced for a child's comprehension. Anyway, the great majority of children who would most need the instruction given in the columns of the *Visitant* had not yet had opportunity to learn to read well. Probably Fowler used the term 'young persons' in a general way to express his hope of reaching more than the elderly and the sedate Church members. The *Visitant* existed at least two years."<sup>13</sup>

3. *THE CHURCH RECORD* and Its Successors (1822-1829).

But the two Church weeklies mentioned above were only local publications with small circulations. They did not have any considerable influence on the Church at large and, in fact, were probably scarcely known beyond the limits of the respective states in which they were published.

The first weekly publication of the Episcopal Church to have any considerable circulation or influence was the one founded at Philadelphia in 1822 under the name of the *Church Record*. The first issue<sup>14</sup> consisted of eight octavo pages and the management was vested in a board consisting of a number of prominent clergymen.<sup>15</sup> After October, in

<sup>11</sup>As I have been unable to consult a file of this periodical, I have had to take the information from Dr. Brewer's book, p. 276. For a biography of the Rev. Andrew Fowler, see E. C. Chorley, "Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church," Volume III (1934), pp. 270-279.

<sup>12</sup>The *Sunday Visitant*, I, No. 1, p. 1. The price was \$2.50 a year.

<sup>13</sup>No. 52, of the second volume, dated Dec. 25, 1819, is the latest issue of the *Visitant* discovered; it says nothing about ceasing publication.

<sup>14</sup>The *Church Record*, June 22, 1822.

<sup>15</sup>Brewer, *History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church*, p. 281, identifies these as including Messrs. Kemper, Boyd, Montgomery, Allen, Bedell, DuPuy and DeLancey. Kemper and DeLancey later became bishops.

order to save expense,<sup>16</sup> the publication appeared only every second week but was sixteen pages in size.

In April, 1823, the name of the *Church Record* was changed to the *Philadelphia Recorder*<sup>17</sup> and beginning with the first of the following year the Rev. E. R. Lippitt became the editor.<sup>18</sup> The *Recorder* was a weekly of four folio pages, the subscription price being at first \$3.00 a year and later \$2.50 a year.<sup>19</sup> After about eight months of the Rev. Mr. Lippitt's editorship, the Rev. Gregory T. Bedell succeeded him as editor. In assuming the editorship, Bedell stated that he would not disparage the ministry and worship of other Christian bodies, remarking that "if he expects to meet with his brethren of other denominations in heaven he sees no reason to avoid them on earth."<sup>20</sup>

The *Recorder* went through various vicissitudes and changed editors several times. Nevertheless, the periodical was growing and Dr. Brewer observes<sup>21</sup> that by March, 1827, it had 1,200 subscribers or nearly twice as many as there were when Bedell became editor. However, in the autumn of 1827 Dr. Bedell had to resign the editorship because of ill health.<sup>22</sup> In 1831 the name was changed to the *Episcopal Recorder*<sup>23</sup> though the numbering was continued and the *Washington Theological Repertory* was absorbed by it.<sup>24</sup>

The *Episcopal Recorder* was a vigorous periodical, standing for Low Church evangelical principles. It took a strong partisan stand on matters of churchmanship.<sup>25</sup> The editor of the *Episcopal Recorder* was the Rev. George A. Smith. The *Episcopal Recorder* had a long and influential history, becoming in the 1840's and 1860's one of the most influential periodicals of the Episcopal Church and continuing until the

<sup>16</sup>The subscription price was only \$1.00 a year.

<sup>17</sup>*Philadelphia Recorder*, April 5, 1823.

<sup>18</sup>Brewer, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

<sup>19</sup>*Philadelphia Recorder*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 1 and 2.

<sup>20</sup>Quoted from *Philadelphia Recorder*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 1-2, by Brewer, *op. cit.*, p. 281. Dr. Brewer adds that Bedell received no remuneration as editor.

<sup>21</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 281.

<sup>22</sup>The *Episcopal Watchman*, Oct. 22, 1827, observes: "We are sorry to see it announced in the last number of this paper, that the Rev. Gregory T. Bedell, 'finding it incompatible with the state of his health and the discharge of other obligations, to pay that attention to the editorial department which its present circulation seems to demand, has felt it his duty to retire for a season from so laborious an occupation.' In the meantime the control of the paper will be placed in the hands of those with whom he has felt it his duty and privilege to act on the questions of policy which have been agitated in the diocese." From Dr. Chorley's clippings. (In this and subsequent references to the Chorley clippings it is impossible to give exact references as Dr. Chorley merely indicates the name of the publication from which his clipping is taken and the year.) Dr. Bedell died August 30, 1834. For biography, see *Sprague*, V, 554-560.

<sup>23</sup>*Episcopal Recorder*, Vol. 9, No. 1, Apr. 2, 1831, p. 1. Vide also letter in the *Churchman*, June 11, 1831.

<sup>24</sup>Vide *supra*, pp. 227-228.

<sup>25</sup>Brewer, *History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church*, p. 282.

year 1865.<sup>26</sup> It was strengthened from time to time by the absorption of other periodicals, the most important being the *Western Episcopalian* in September, 1859.<sup>27</sup> Under the editorship of the Rev. Mr. Smith the *Episcopal Recorder* continued until March, 1865, when it came to an end for somewhat obscure reasons—probably the difficulty of securing an editor to succeed Smith and the transfer of the allegiance of many of its readers to the *Churchman* and the *Banner of the Cross*, which by that time had become the leading publications of the Episcopal Church.

#### 4. THE CHURCH REGISTER (1826-1829).

The *Church Register* was a weekly, issued in large format with three columns to the page, published by Judah Dobson (agent) at 108 Chestnut St., Philadelphia. Bishop White was the patron of this new periodical, and the editor was the Rev. Dr. George Weller.<sup>28</sup> Dr. Weller had been rector of St. Stephen's Church, Cecil County, Maryland, and it was an article of his entitled "Vindication of the Church" that brought him to the favorable attention of Bishop White and led him to invite Weller to become editor of the new periodical, which he edited for three years "with much ability." In addition to his editorship of the *Church Register*, and despite chronic ill health, he held services regularly at Hamilton Village and Mantua, Pa.<sup>29</sup> The former place is now that part of Philadelphia where the University of Pennsylvania is located.

The title page of the first volume of the *Church Register* contained a cut of the General Theological Seminary<sup>29-a</sup> in New York and the *Register* throughout showed a great interest in the progress of this institution. The first issue was dated Saturday, January 4, 1826. The prospectus gave as its aim: "to diffuse correct views of the religion of

<sup>26</sup> Bound file of *Episcopal Recorder* in library of General Theological Seminary.

<sup>27</sup> Clipping from final issue of *Western Episcopalian* in Chorley clippings. The *Western Episcopalian* was the successor of the *Western Church Journal* which in turn had succeeded the *Gambier Observer*. Vide below, pp. 262-264.

<sup>28</sup> He was the grandfather of the Rt. Rev. Reginald Heber Weller, bishop of Fond du Lac, 1912-1933. An interesting biography of George Weller is contained in Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. V, pp. 601-605, from which the facts concerning him are taken.

<sup>29</sup> "He also edited, about this time, for a Philadelphia publisher, the first American collection of the poems of Bishop Heber, to which he prefixed a short biography. Besides this, he republished several short treatises on Church doctrines, written by standard authors. He also acted as secretary and agent of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, and wrote a full report of its proceedings for 1828." Op. cit., pp. 603-604, letter of the Rev. Joseph C. Passmore.

<sup>29-a</sup> Authorized by the General Convention in 1817, it was finally settled in New York City in 1821. For the best history of the Seminary thus far written, see "Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church," Vol. V (1936), pp. 145-264.

the gospel, its progress and condition—of the Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies of the Church, explaining and vindicating them, consistently with the best authorities and established practice." Further objects were to promote the new Missionary Society, the General Theological Seminary, and so on.

The *Church Register* was welcomed by the *Christian Journal* and was endorsed by Bishop William White of Pennsylvania, by the Rev. Jackson Kemper, later missionary bishop of the Northwest, and others. The subscription price was \$2.30 a year in advance, or \$3.00 if paid during the year.

The *Church Register* began in a modest way with eight pages and no advertising. Beginning in the second issue there were several small advertisements at the end of each issue. Although intended to be primarily a missionary publication, the *Church Register* became involved in various controversies on questions of churchmanship, ritual, and so on. It was low church in its tendency and opposed such practices as bowing at the name of Jesus and other practices of a catholic nature.

A contemporary in 1827<sup>30</sup> expressed "lively satisfaction" at the "steady and uniform progress" of the *Church Register*, adding: "While we willingly yield it the honours of seniority, it will be our aim to emulate the praise-worthy spirit, with which it has hitherto pursued its undeviating course." It was suggested, however, that, "without materially diminishing its permanent value as a depository of durable papers," the editor "might perhaps make room for more of those topics of temporary interest, which it is the chief and especial design of a newspaper to disseminate."

The issue of the *Church Register* for December 27, 1828, contains a valedictory message from the editor. He writes sadly that the paper was started "in the honest belief that a weekly publication, devoted exclusively to the interests of religion, was much needed." However, it proved that such a periodical was not supported and "the hopes with which he (the editor) entered upon the work have proved abortive, and after a patient trial for three years, accompanied by many difficulties, he is compelled to abandon them and retire from the work." He did not anticipate painful controversy, meaning rather to have a general publication, but "he was insensibly drawn aside from his purposes, to give to the *Register* far more of a local character, and to place upon his pages more articles of a temporary, and, he regrets to say, even of a

<sup>30</sup>The *Episcopal Watchman*, March 26, 1827.

personal character, than was agreeable to himself at the time, or will now be justified by him."

In the same issue it was reported that the paper was "transferred to the present publisher, Mr. Jasper Harding,<sup>31</sup> and will be continued by him with competent editorial assistance." Mr. Harding gathered together an editorial board consisting of the Rev. Messrs. DeLancey, Kemper, Meade, Montgomery, and Rutledge, and managed to continue the *Register* for another year. With the close of the year 1829, however, the *Church Register* suffered the usual fate of periodicals that were managed by boards instead of by individual editors and came to an end, being succeeded by the *Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register*.<sup>32</sup>

### 5. *GOSPEL MESSENGER* (1827-1863).

We have seen how Bishop Hobart, after transferring the *Churchman's Magazine* to the Rev. John C. Rudd, subsequently encouraged the establishment of the *Christian Register*, and (when that failed) of the *Christian Journal* in New York. Similarly Mr. Rudd, after he lost the *Churchman's Magazine*, felt the desire to establish a new Church paper. This he did, calling it the *Gospel Messenger*,<sup>33</sup> and the first issue was published at Auburn, N. Y., under date of January 20, 1827. It was a four-column quarto, and was published weekly. In his prospectus, which was addressed "to the Clergy, Members and friends of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Western part of the State of New York," the editor, Mr. Rudd,<sup>34</sup> said:

"It must be plain to those who consider the wants of our Communion, that a weekly paper devoted to the interests of Evangelical Piety, and sound religious information judiciously conducted, would contribute very materially to that edification and comfort which it should be our aim to promote.

"Whether the plan proposed in this specimen of a paper, which it is contemplated to publish regularly, will meet the object in view—whether it can be judiciously conducted, and whether it will receive the requisite patronage, are questions for

<sup>31</sup>Mr. Harding had been previously listed as the printer.

<sup>32</sup>Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup>There was already a monthly *Gospel Messenger*, published in Charleston, South Carolina. (See pp. 256-258.) This publication objected to the unauthorized use of its name, but to no avail. For a biography of the Rev. John Churchill Rudd, see W. B. Sprague, "Annals of the American Pulpit," V, 501-506.

<sup>34</sup>Unlike previous custom, Mr. Rudd signed his name to the prospectus.

the consideration of Episcopalians in this part of the State, and which time must be required to answer."

Continuing, the prospectus outlined a plan for a "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Piety," the constitution for which was appended.<sup>35</sup>

It was further announced that

"This *Gospel Messenger* will be devoted to the promotion of religious Truth, and practical holiness of life. In the accomplishment of this object a steady regard will be had to the wants of the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this portion of the country, and reference will be maintained to those views of Christian<sup>36</sup> Doctrine which are sustained in the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of this Church. It is deemed due to candor and honesty fully to avoid the design of this undertaking, and to say that while we never intend to seek occasions for differing with other denominations, we shall not hesitate to defend ourselves, and the principles of the Communion to which we belong, when they are made the subjects of attack, and to animadvert with plainness and good temper upon whatever may appear connected with the spread of evangelical truth, and the encouragement of those tempers and habits which should adorn the Christian."

Although the prospectus stated that "Another number of the paper will not be issued until the undersigned has received such information and opinions from his Reverend Brethren and the friends of the Church, as will justify his progress in the work," the second number did appear a week later.<sup>37</sup>

The columns of the *Gospel Messenger* were catholic and eclectic. The first issue contained a full report of the proceedings of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, an account of the opening of a new Methodist chapel and of a Franco-German Protestant church in Naples, Italy, a letter from a traveller in Africa, a thanksgiving sermon on the sound theme that "every Christian family ought to have some periodical publication of religious Intelligence," an item about a new

<sup>35</sup>This society was organized on March 7, 1827, the constitution ratified, and the Hon. Nathan Williams elected president. Thereafter the *Gospel Messenger* appeared under its auspices, and tracts were also published. Three months later, at a meeting in Trinity Church, Geneva, receipts of \$57.00 were announced, including one life subscription at \$10.00 and several annual subscriptions. The regular subscription price was \$1.50, plus a 25 cent penalty if not paid within the year.

<sup>36</sup>Misprinted "Christain."

<sup>37</sup>At least, it is so dated, but it was not uncommon for periodicals to come out a week or two later than the publication date, and sometimes two issues appeared simultaneously.

reflecting telescope, a summary of public affairs,<sup>38</sup> marriage and death notices,<sup>39</sup> and over a column of verse clipped from other papers.

General as well as religious news was a prominent feature of this paper, items often appearing under such "headlines" as "Horrible Catastrophe!" "Affecting Incident," and the like.

Another popular feature consisted of biographies of the bishops, some original and some quoted.

The *Gospel Messenger* of April 14, 1827, devotes nearly a page to a memoir of Bishop Heber of Calcutta, one of the great statesmen of the Anglican Church, who died April 3, 1826. Included in this is an important document in the history of the *rapprochement* between the Anglican communion and the ancient Churches of the East—a letter to the Archbishop Mar Athanasius, Metropolitan of the Syrian (St. Thomas) Church of Malabar,<sup>40</sup> warning him to "beware of the emissaries of the Bishop of Rome, whose hands have been dipped in the blood of the saints, from whose tyranny our Church in England hath been long freed by the blessing of God, and we hope to continue in that freedom for ever."

Throughout the *Gospel Messenger* the note of joy in religion was constantly sounded, in contrast to the gloomy puritanism of the Protestant Churches of the day. A series of articles pointed out that the Episcopal Church definitely rejects Calvinism, with its repressive and dour doctrines; other articles tell of notable examples of "religion with cheerfulness."

A considerable part of the contents of the *Gospel Messenger* was written by the editor himself who, in the fashion of the day, concealed his identity under various pseudonyms and initials.<sup>41</sup> Other original contributors with their *noms de plume*, included Rev. A. L. Hollister, (H.), J. D. Carder (Latimer and Leighton), Rev. F. M. Cuming (Franklin), Rev. H. Gregory (Epaphras), Rev. R. Salmon (Pioneer),

<sup>38</sup>Two typical items—"A line of stages has commenced running from Albany to Montreal on the west side of the lake, three times a week; to run through in three days." "A large number of respectable free people of color are about to embark in the vessel called the Doris, at Baltimore, for Liberia."

<sup>39</sup>Here is a particularly choice one (issue of March 24, 1827): "Died—at Scituate, Mass., Mrs. Nancy James, wife of Mr. Benjamin James. She was attending to her domestic duties, and appeared in perfect health, when she exclaimed, 'I am dying'; in ten minutes she was a corpse."

<sup>40</sup>This venerable and large Christian Church of India claims to have been founded by the Apostle St. Thomas, who, according to their tradition, went to India after the death of Christ.

<sup>41</sup>The bound copy of volume III in the General Theological Seminary Library bears the autograph and notation, "J. C. Rudd—never to be lent or parted with." It is evidently the editor's master file, and has attached to the fly-leaf a page in his handwriting giving a key to many of the pseudonyms. He himself used all of the following signatures: *Expositor*, *Borne*, *G. M.*, *Presbyter*, *M. G.*, *James Hazekiah*, *One in the West*, *E.*, *E. D.*, and others.

Mr. B. Hinman of Auburn (N. H.), Rev. E. G. Gear (E. G. G.), and even—rather surprisingly—a woman, one Mrs. Taylor of Oneida County (Alma).

Like all Church papers, the *Gospel Messenger* was constantly engaged in the effort to gain new subscribers, and also to get the old ones to renew. A curious method of stimulating renewals is noted in the first number of volume III (January 17, 1829), wherein “those who intend to discontinue their patronage of the *Messenger* are *particularly requested* to return this number through the post-office, to the Editor, without delay. Those who neglect to do so will be considered responsible for the third volume.”

For three years the *Gospel Messenger* continued to issue a four-page paper every Saturday. At the beginning of 1829 the editor promised a larger paper if increased support were forthcoming, but in the issue of February 14, 1829, he lamented the fact that not only has he not received added support, but some of his readers, taking offense at his failure to enlarge the paper, have discontinued their subscriptions! “Truly,” says he, “the poor Editor is in evil case. He offers to enlarge his sheet if he can receive adequate support,—that support does not come but the enlargement is expected.—The straw is no longer offered, and yet the tale of bricks is required.”

In 1829, however, Dr. Rudd did succeed in obtaining enough donations to purchase a press for the S. P. C. K. & P., and thereafter the *Gospel Messenger* issued from the “Society’s Press,” described as “a few rods East of the Episcopal Church,” and which also advertised job printing. And in the issue of November 27, 1830, is stated: “The office of the *Gospel Messenger* has, during the last week, been removed to the brick building on the South-West corner of St. Peter’s Church yard. The books and *Messenger* accounts are kept by the Editor at the Parsonage House, on the opposite corner of the same yard.”<sup>42</sup>

But the matter of inadequate support continued to trouble the *Messenger*, and Dr. Rudd was compelled to make frequent appeals, such as that in the issue of December 11, 1830, in which he observed that “we are in very great need, of what the Printer and Paper-maker tell us is very material to our comfort, that is, *Cash*.”

In December, 1831, Dr. Rudd suffered an attack of influenza, which was widely prevalent at the time. Ever ready to share with his

<sup>42</sup>*This was evidently a gala week for the editor, for, in addition to the moving of his office, we read that he was “politely presented a few days since, by Horace Hills, Esq., from his garden in this village, with an uncommonly beautifully formed Cauliflower measuring 15 inches in diameter and weighing ten pounds and three-quarters.” And a week later he acknowledges receipt of another cauliflower, this time from Mr. Hiram Bostwick, “measuring full 15 inches in diameter, and when divested of all its leaves and the stock, weighing 12 pounds.”*

readers, after apologizing for the inadequacy of that issue, he "so far exert[s] his pen" as to give the "*recipe*, from the use of which he is not only now deriving material benefit, but from which he has seen in his own family and in various others through a series of many years, the best results in *all* cases of severe colds and stubborn coughs."<sup>43</sup>

In a summary at the end of Volume V—issue of February 4, 1832—it is stated that the *Gospel Messenger* was still indebted to the printer of the first two and a half volumes, before the S. P. C. K. & P. had obtained its own press. It is surprising, in view of its debts and constant appeals, that the *Gospel Messenger* was able to continue its existence. Nevertheless it did so, moving with Dr. Rudd from Auburn to Utica in 1833, and continuing as late as the Civil War, the last number appearing in 1863. As Dr. Brewer well observes:<sup>44</sup> "Naturally much of its material was local, but it was so far from being provincial in its spirit and makeup, and it was such an efficient piece of Church journalism, that it commanded response and received the compliment of being quoted often by other Church periodicals."

After 1835 the *Gospel Messenger* was published in Utica. It continued to be edited capably, though not brilliantly, by Mr. Rudd; and while it probably never had a very wide circulation it served upper New York State and the surrounding territory faithfully, and circulated to some extent among New York emigrants in the West and South. It came to an end during the Civil War, when so many of the orderly processes of American life were rudely interrupted.

Charles W. Hayes, historian of the diocese of Western New York, wrote of the *Gospel Messenger*:<sup>45</sup>

"For forty-five years it continued to be, in reality as well as in name, 'The Church Record of Western New York,' and, like its predecessor, the *Christian Journal* (1817-1830), an invaluable store-house of Western New York history. In this respect, I can safely say that no periodical since its day has begun to take its place. But it was more than this, not only in Western New York, where nearly every intelligent Church family took it in as if it were their daily bread, and read it from end to end, but as years went on, through many a State and Diocese in the West and South to which such families had gone. Dr. Rudd was not a forcible original writer, but

<sup>43</sup>"*Recipe.—1 oz. Sugar Candy, that called Rock Candy is best—2 oz. Gum Arabic—½ oz. Liquorice. Let these when broken in a mortar, be dissolved in one pint boiling water. When the mixture is cold add to it two table spoons of Elixir Paregoric and one table spoonfull of good Antimonial Wine. An adult may take five or six table spoonfulls of this during twenty four hours. Children a less quantity according to their age.*"—*Gospel Messenger*, December 3, 1831.

<sup>44</sup>*Op. cit.*, Brewer, p. 288.

<sup>45</sup>*The Diocese of Western New York, Rochester, N. Y., 1904*, pp. 69-70.

he had a rare faculty of selection, both in Church news and in didactic, pastoral and devotional writings, which made the paper *always* interesting as well as profitable. Then it told, surely if slowly, of all that was going on of interest in parochial work; it had the hearty support and constant help of successive Bishops and Clergy of the Diocese, who were frequent contributors to its pages; its Church teaching was thoroughly sound and reasonably progressive, slowly but constantly elevating the tone of thought and teaching in both Clergy and Laity. Later, it brought to the Churchmen of the country the very best thought of the Oxford Movement so stirring the hearts of their English brethren, in a form always persuasive and never offensive. Altogether, it was, I have always thought, the best, though not the ablest, weekly Church paper we have ever had in this country; and there are yet living (1904) hundreds of Western New York Churchmen who will agree heartily in this opinion."

Hayes had in his possession the 45 volumes (1827-1871) of this periodical and, he says, "without them, I need hardly say, this history would be a barren chronicle."

#### 6. *THE EPISCOPAL WATCHMAN* (1827-1833)

In March, 1827, there appeared the first issue of a weekly periodical that was of exceptional importance. The *Episcopal Watchman* stood in a unique position in that it was at once the successor of the first periodical of the Episcopal Church, the *Churchman's Magazine*, and the forerunner of the first enduring weekly periodical, the *Churchman*. Like the initial venture in Episcopal Church journalism, the *Episcopal Watchman* had its origin in Connecticut, being sponsored by the clergy of that diocese as the successor to both the *Churchman's Magazine* and the *Gospel Advocate*.<sup>46</sup>

The first issue of the *Episcopal Watchman* was dated at Hartford, March 26, 1827. (The title page to volume I bears a cut of Washington [now Trinity] College, Hartford.) In a rather lengthy prospectus, the editors say:

"The publication of the *Churchman's Magazine* being about to cease, in consequence of the death of its lamented editor, the late Rev. Dr. Bronson; and the *Gospel Advocate* being about to be discontinued at the same time, it is proper to substitute for them a *Paper*, which having the same objects in

<sup>46</sup>The *Gospel Advocate* was a monthly publication issued from 1821 to 1826, first at Newburyport and then at Boston, Mass. See pp. 255-256.

view, shall differ from these journals in the variety of its contents, and in the frequency of its issue.

"The objects of the *Watchman* will be the increase of useful knowledge, the promotion of virtue, and the dissemination of pure and undefiled religion. And because it is believed to be the scriptural and most effectual way of advancing the last and greatest of these objects, the elucidation of defence of the doctrines, discipline, and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, will constantly be kept in view.—Other topics will also find a place in the proposed Paper. The cultivation and improvement of the mind, and the refinement of the taste and affections, if made subordinate objects of pursuit, may be rendered auxiliary to the cause of religion . . . ."

Some of the principal subjects that the editors promised to include (and subsequently did include) were:

- Biblical criticism
- Sermons, lectures, and essays
- Reviews of new publications
- Church history
- Biography
- Proceedings of conventions
- Episcopal charges
- "Ecclesiastical and missionary intelligence"
- Useful scientific information
- Original and selected poetry
- "General views of Politics, Foreign and Domestic; Summary of passing events, etc., etc."

It was reported that "the Editorial charge of the *Watchman* will be committed to a Clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church of approved talents, learning, and piety; under the superintendence of the Bishop of the Diocese of Connecticut, aided by such of his Presbyters as he may find it convenient to consult."

As to profits (if any!): "That portion which may accrue from the subscriptions in Connecticut will be paid into the Treasury of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge—and the profits from the subscriptions in the Eastern Diocese<sup>47</sup> will be appropriated to the Massachusetts Missionary Society."

The *Episcopal Watchman* consisted of eight pages, three columns to a page, and contained more news than any previous publication, some original, some clipped from other periodicals. The publisher at first was H. Huntington, Jr., "two doors north of the Phoenix Bank, Hart-

<sup>47</sup>This included all of New England except Connecticut.

ford." The price was \$2.00 a year in advance, or \$2.50 if paid after six months. Agents received a 15% commission.

In the first issue of the *Episcopal Watchman*<sup>48</sup> it was announced:

"No advertisement, except those which relate to religious or literary subjects, will be admitted into the *Watchman*. By this arrangement, in addition to the religious matter which it will contain, room may be found for all the important information contained in the ordinary Newspaper, without the incumbrance of uninteresting advertisements."

The bishop of Connecticut, the Rt. Rev. Thomas Church Brownell, was in charge of the editorial policy of the *Episcopal Watchman*, but the actual editorial work was done by George W. Doane, later bishop of New Jersey, and William Croswell. Croswell was a noted poet, of whom the Rev. Julius H. Ward wrote:<sup>49</sup>

"William Croswell had begun to write poetry before he left Yale College, and when young Doane had become Professor of English Literature at Washington (now Trinity) College, and had projected, in 1827, one of the first Church newspapers, the *Episcopal Watchman*, Croswell removed to Hartford, and became its associate editor, contributing to its columns the sonnets, hymns, and other poems, which have given him a foremost place in the ranks of our Church poets. He struck the note corresponding to that which Keble struck in the 'Christian Year,' and which Bishop Coxe echoed and prolonged, a dozen years later, in the 'Christian Ballads,'—the produce of his student life at the General Theological Seminary,—with touches of fine spiritual enthusiasm not since repeated. Prof. Doane was the first to welcome Keble in America, and his notes to the 'Christian Year' reveal the high quality of his poetical feeling. This was the quality of his poetical feeling. This was the first outburst of native poetry."

These "matchless poems," as Ward called them, were the chief feature of the *Episcopal Watchman* and they alone would have been ample justification for its existence. Indeed, his intimate friend and associate, Bishop Doane, who was himself a poet of no small talent, said of him:<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup>*Hartford, Conn., March 26, 1827.*

<sup>49</sup>*Monograph in Bishop Perry's History of the American Episcopal Church, Vol. II, p. 615.*

<sup>50</sup>*In a commemorative address delivered in the Church of the Advent, Boston, quoted in A Memoir of William Croswell, by his father, Henry Croswell, New York, 1853, pp. 10-11.*

"His poetical contributions to the *Episcopal Watchman* were numerous, in addition to his invaluable services as editor; and they won for him a high and honorable place among the very few of whom the name of Poet can be given. Every thing that he ever wrote in verse was strictly occasional. It was so much of his heart life set to music. He lived it, every line. And it was all inspired at the hearth side or at the altar foot. It was domestic often, always sacred. He fulfilled, in every verse, that beautiful suggestion of the skylark to the mind of Wordsworth,—

'Type of the wise, who soar, but never roam,  
True to the kindred points of heaven and home.'

In that incomparable modesty which set off, its mild opal light, his virtues and his graces, he thought very poorly of these admirable productions, and has half suggested the desire that they may remain still fugitive. But this must not be suffered. They are part and parcel of his nature and of his office. As he lived them, so he preaches in them, and will while the gospel shall be preached."

When Doane was called as assistant minister of Trinity Church, Boston, at the end of 1827, Croswell continued the editorial work alone though he found the routine of it vexing to his poetic nature.<sup>51</sup> Croswell had not yet been ordained but he received holy orders in 1828, after which he remained only to continue the volume of the *Episcopal Watchman* to an end and then gave up his editorial work in favor of the pastoral ministry.

A succession of inexperienced editors followed Croswell and the periodical, which originally consisted of eight quarto pages, was changed to four folio pages. Financial appeals became rather frequent and in November, 1833, the *Episcopal Watchman* was absorbed by the *Churchman*, which had been founded two years previously and which was destined to continue its life with a few interruptions to the present day.

In his final message David S. Porter, publisher of the *Episcopal Watchman*, wrote (*Churchman*, November, 1833): "The following

<sup>51</sup>His father writes: (*Memoirs of William Croswell*, p. 50) "In the capacity of editor, as in every other occupation in which he engaged, he labored with all diligence and fidelity; but it must not be disguised that it was not the pursuit of his choice, neither was it congenial with his taste. It brought him too directly and too constantly before the public. In the course of the year, he felt some misgivings as to the propriety of his remaining in this highly responsible station, and once or twice had half resolved, through the solicitation of his friends in the seminary, and with the entire approbation of his father, to return and finish his course in that institution. But he found it impracticable to break up his connection with the paper without disobliging his friends, and, chiefly on this account, was induced to remain at his post."

preamble and resolutions were adopted by the clergy of the diocese of Connecticut, at a convocation recently held in the city of Norwich:

“Whereas it is understood that the present number of subscribers to the *Watchman* will not enable the Publisher to continue that work:

“Resolved, That we are willing for ourselves, and will use our influence to obtain the consent of our parishioners, to transfer the list of subscribers to the proprietors of the *Churchman* on the following terms, viz.

“The present subscribers to the *Watchman* to receive the *Churchman* in its stead, on the same terms as those of which the *Watchman* is now published.”

“By the above preamble and resolution it will be seen that the subject of a transfer of the *Episcopal Watchman* to the proprietors of the *Churchman* has been matter of consultation with the clergy of the Diocese of Connecticut. In pursuance of their advice a transfer has been made, and hereafter the subscribers of the *Watchman* will be served with the *Churchman*, until the expiration of their respective subscriptions, on the same terms on which they were to receive the former paper.

“The Publisher of the *Watchman* does not deem it necessary, in taking leave of his subscribers, to say aught concerning the paper which is substituted. Its character and standing are too well known to Churchmen to require his recommendation, and he doubts not that the change will be both acceptable and advantageous.

“The cause leading to this change is expressed in the preamble above, viz., a want of sufficient patronage. Why this should have been, it is needless at this time to inquire; but now that New England has no Episcopal paper of her own, it is not too much to expect that efficient support from that quarter will be given to the paper which a convocation of a part of her clergy has recommended.

“All unsettled accounts of the *Watchman* are to be settled with the proprietors of the *Churchman*, to whom all remittances hereafter must be made.

“DAVID S. PORTER,  
Former Publisher and Proprietor of the  
*Episcopal Watchman*.”

#### 7. THE BANNER OF THE CHURCH (1831-1832)

The *Banner of the Church* was another New England publication, the first issue appearing at Boston under date of September 3, 1831. Its origin was apparently due to dissatisfaction with the *Episcopal Watchman* which, it will be recalled, had continued the two earlier

New England publications, the *Churchman's Magazine* and the *Gospel Advocate*. Since the absorption of the *Advocate* by the *Episcopal Watchman* there had been no Church publication in Massachusetts, the *Watchman* being published in Connecticut. Dr. Brewer says:<sup>52</sup>

"Either the Connecticut cities monopolized the *Watchman* or else the Massachusetts people became dissatisfied with it, for in April, 1831, some of the Massachusetts clergy met with the Bishop to discuss the possibility of starting another Church periodical; in the absence of definite action at this meeting, a few of those most interested, one of whom was the Rev. George W. Doane, took on themselves afterward the task of setting up a 'banner' of their own. Hence, the name of 'The *Banner of the Church*.'"

In the first issue the editors, who were also the proprietors, announced: "The publication of the *Banner of the Church* is undertaken entirely on individual responsibility and with an express intention of no individual profit."<sup>53</sup> Not only were the editors and owners to take no remuneration but they announced that they had agreed with the publishers, Messrs. Stimpson & Clapp, to be responsible for one half of any deficit that might accrue. Moreover, they pledged themselves that if the circulation should exceed 1,200 they would donate their half of the profits (the other half going to the publishers) "to the Church, for the support of missions, or of Theological Education, or for the cheap or gratuitous distribution of Bibles, prayer books, or other publications calculated to disseminate and defend 'Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order.'"

The subscription price was set at \$1.00 a year and four pages were published weekly in quarto format.<sup>54</sup>

The *Banner of the Church* consisted mostly of editorials and special articles with occasional long news items. For the most part, however, the news was confined to a chronicle of confirmations, ordinations, and other routine events.

As the *Banner of the Church* continued and became more firmly established, it gave somewhat more space to the news of the Church, reporting events not only in New England but as far afield as Ohio and South Carolina.

<sup>52</sup>*Op. cit.*, Brewer, p. 297.

<sup>53</sup>*Banner of the Church*, September 3, 1831.

<sup>54</sup>The editors however did not consider the publication a true quarto for in their third number, p. 12, acknowledging the courtesy of the *Episcopal Watchman* in reviewing the first number of the *Banner of the Church* they said, "Will the editor do us the favor to say, in his next number, that it is printed not in quarto but in small folio."

Like its predecessors, the *Banner of the Church* met with financial difficulties from the outset. In one issue<sup>55</sup> it appealed for more subscriptions and related the story of one correspondent as follows:

“A valued correspondent, who bears all desirable testimony to the spirit, design, and execution of the *Banner of the Church*, tells us that he shall do what he can to circulate it among the people of his parish, *with the beginning* of the second volume! We are glad that he anticipates for our poor labors more than a year’s endurance and trust that his anticipation may be realized but if our printer generally were to adopt his course, to what purpose should we labor? It were better, as the honest Irishman proposed, that we had begun with the second volume.”

The *Banner of the Church* did manage to continue into a second volume but not to complete it. The last issue was that for November 24, 1832 (Vol. 2, No. 7), when the publication of the *Banner of the Church* was discontinued and the subscription list turned over to the *Churchman*. Dr. Brewer quotes the *Episcopal Recorder*<sup>56</sup> as giving the reason for the *Banner*’s suspension “the removal of Bishop Doane, late one of the editors, to another diocese.” It is true that Doane was bishop of New Jersey on October 31, 1832, but it is probable that financial reasons were the real cause of the discontinuance of the periodical.

Associated with Dr. Doane as editor of the *Banner of the Church* was the poet, William Croswell, who had previously been co-editor with him of the *Episcopal Watchman* and Croswell’s poems appeared from time to time in its columns, together with those of the English poet-priest, John Keble.

#### 8. CHRONICLE OF THE CHURCH (1837-1845)

Although the *Churchman* had taken over the subscription list of the *Episcopal Watchman* when that periodical was discontinued in 1834, and had a considerable following throughout New England, the Churchmen of Connecticut, where Episcopal Church journalism had had its origin, felt the need of a weekly periodical of their own. Accordingly, in January, 1837, the first issue of the *Chronicle of the Church* was published at New Haven. This periodical had the distinction of being the first weekly of general circulation in the Episcopal Church to have a layman as its editor,<sup>57</sup> but a year later he was ordained. Dr. Beardsley<sup>58</sup> wrote of him:

<sup>55</sup>*Banner of the Church*, March 17, 1832, p. 115.

<sup>56</sup>*Episcopal Recorder*, December 8, 1832, p. 142.

<sup>57</sup>*The Layman’s Magazine of Martinsburg, Va.*, was edited by a layman as well as for laymen, as we have seen, but its circulation was local.

<sup>58</sup>*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 318 Note.

"Alonzo B. Chapin, Esq., [was] the son of a Congregational minister, and educated for the legal profession. He read himself into the Episcopal Church, and, becoming a candidate for Holy Orders, was ordained a deacon in 1838. He was a student of remarkable industry, and stored his mind with a fund of varied knowledge, some of which he put forth in the shape of pamphlets, reviews, and books, that gained for him a wide reputation among Churchmen. He was too rapid a writer to be always accurate, and more care and scholarship would have added to the value of his historical publications."

However, this ability to write rapidly must have assisted Chapin materially in editing a weekly paper.

Of the *Chronicle of the Church*, Dr. Beardsley wrote:<sup>59</sup>

"It was an inauspicious time to begin an enterprise of this sort, for the embarrassments in the commercial world were great, and there was much derangement in the currency of the country. But, with liberal promises in the outset, and a partial indorsement of the object by the Convention of the Diocese, the paper, the first number of which was issued at New Haven, Epiphany, 1837, soon attained a fair circulation, and was continued under the charge of its original editor for eight years, when it was removed to Hartford, and merged in the *Calendar*."

This combined volume was continued after 1840 as the *Practical Christian and Church Chronicle*. It was succeeded in 1845 by the *Calendar*, published at Hartford, Conn. This in turn became the *Connecticut Churchman*, and finally in 1865 merged with the *Churchman*.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup>Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 319. The panic of 1837 was one of the worst this Country ever experienced.

<sup>60</sup>Beardsley, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 319.

## CHAPTER V

### MONTHLIES; QUARTERLIES; CHILDREN'S MAGAZINES

#### 1. EPISCOPAL MAGAZINE (1820-1821)

**I**N January, 1820, there appeared the first number of the *Episcopal Magazine*, published in Philadelphia by S. Potter & Co.<sup>1</sup> The first issue consisted of 36 pages octavo. This was a monthly periodical devoting a considerable amount of space to the record of the progress of the Episcopal Church in Philadelphia and other parts of Pennsylvania.

The first issue of the *Episcopal Magazine* began with two essays, "Designed Especially for the Perusal of Students in Theology." The first of these dealt with the terms Sacrifice, Altar, and Priest, and was signed with the initials W. W.<sup>2</sup> The second entitled "Theological Disquisitions," signed C. B., dealt with the subject of Christian Evidences. There followed an historical article entitled "Some Particulars Relating to the Commencement and Progress of the Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania." Other historical articles, biographical sketches, extracts from letters and the like, mostly taken from British periodicals, made up the balance of the issue, with the exception of three pages which were given over to "Domestic Intelligence."

Apparently it was originally intended that this first issue should consist of 32 pages, for on page 32 there is the following note to correspondents: "The obituary notice of the Rev. Thomas P. May was received too late for this number but shall appear in the next." However, page 33 begins with the following note:

"The Publishers of the *Magazine* having suggested the idea of printing four additional pages to the present number, the Editors avail themselves of the opportunity to publish the obituary notice of the Rev. Mr. May, referred to in the note to correspondents; and also some very late intelligence, received through the politeness of R. Ralston, esq., from the last Monthly Extracts of the British and Foreign Bible Society, published in London on the 30th of November, 1818."

<sup>1</sup>*Episcopal Magazine, Vol. I, No. 1, January, 1820.*

<sup>2</sup>*This was undoubtedly Bishop William White, and the essay, with others from the Episcopal Magazine, is listed in the bibliography of Bishop White's work in Stowe, Life and Letters of Bishop William White, p. 290.*

In addition to the obituary of Mr. May, an article on Bible Societies and some extracts from foreign letters filled out the extra three pages.

The second number of the *Episcopal Magazine*<sup>3</sup> was introduced with a frontispiece portrait of Bishop White who apparently was the patron of the magazine. The initials of Bishop White appear frequently in a number of the issues.

The subscription price of the *Episcopal Magazine* was \$2.50 a year. The magazine continued for only two years, the last number being that of December, 1821. The last issue contained a notice that the publication of the *Episcopal Magazine* would be discontinued, adding:

“With what ability it has been conducted and with what regularity received, our subscribers are alone to determine. We can assure them, however, that no exertions have been wanting on our part to publish and forward it with the utmost punctuality, and if delays have occurred in the reception of the work, it has been through the medium of post offices, and wholly beyond our control.

“The terms which were published with the first number of the *Episcopal Magazine*, stated that the subscriptions would fall due, on the first of June in each year. Such as have promptly complied with those terms, are entitled to our warmest thanks; and, while we with pleasure acknowledge the receipt of sums of money from others, on account of the work, and respectfully request a remittance of the balance due, we would beg leave to remind those who have remained totally indifferent to it by neglecting to make payment, although often solicited, that its failure is entirely attributed to them; for by a reference to the unsettled accounts of the *Episcopal Magazine*, it is found, that rising \$1,200, in small sums, from \$2.50 to \$5.00 are still due the publishers; who, after having laboured to establish the work for two successive years, and been the losers to a very considerable amount, are now reluctantly compelled to relinquish it, for want of support. It is sincerely to be hoped the above statement will induce every person indebted to us on account of the *Magazine*, to make immediate payment, by which they will serve the cause of Justice, and confer an especial favour on the publishers.”

The *Episcopal Magazine* was rather a “heavy” publication and it is likely that it never had a very wide circulation. In the last issue the publishers advertised that they would take subscriptions for the other existing Church papers, namely, the *Theological Repertory*, published at Washington, D. C.; *Churchman's Magazine*, New Haven; *Gospel Advocate*, Boston; and the *Christian Journal*, New York.

<sup>3</sup>*Episcopal Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 2, February, 1820.

## 2. THE CHURCHMAN'S REPOSITORY FOR THE EASTERN DIOCESS (1820)

The *Churchman's Repository for the Eastern Diocese* published its first number at Newburyport, Massachusetts, in July, 1820, in 32 page octavo form.<sup>4</sup> Editors were the Rev. James Morse of Newburyport, the Rev. Asa Eaton of Boston, the Rev. Charles Burroughs of Portsmouth, and the Rev. Thomas Carlisle, of Salem.<sup>5</sup> The *Churchman's Repository* had a brief life, being discontinued at the end of 1820, in favor of the enlarged monthly publication, the *Gospel Advocate*.

## 3. GOSPEL ADVOCATE (1821-1826)

The *Gospel Advocate* was a monthly periodical ranging in size from 32 to 40 pages octavo published at Newburyport, Massachusetts, beginning with the issue of January, 1821. The prospectus in the first issue<sup>6</sup> began with a lengthy justification of the name of the periodical, tracing the word "Gospel" to its Saxon derivation from the words "God" meaning "Good" and "spel" "a message." An essay on the New Year, a transcript of Bishop Alexander Griswold's address to the biennial convention of the Eastern Diocese, an article by a Vermont clergyman on attendance at public worship, a sermon, and a department of religious intelligence together with a miscellany consisting of quotations from other periodicals made up the bulk of the first issue.

The *Gospel Advocate* was a continuation of the *Churchman's Repository for the Eastern Diocese* which had issued its first number at Newburyport in July, 1820, and appeared monthly for the balance of that year. While the *Gospel Advocate* did not continue the numbering of the *Churchman's Repository* it did continue a serial article entitled *Remarks on Baptism*, begun in the earlier publication.<sup>7</sup>

The title page of the *Gospel Advocate* gave the information that it was "conducted by a society of gentlemen." Bishop Griswold and ten of the clergy of the Eastern Diocese signed a recommendation of the new periodical<sup>8</sup> in which they stated:

"Being persuaded that it will be devoted to the promotion of good morals, and of pure and undefiled religion; and that such a work is highly necessary at the present time, it is our desire that it may obtain extensive circulation."

<sup>4</sup>The *Churchman's Repository for the Eastern Dioceses*, Vol. I, No. 1, July, 1820.

<sup>5</sup>Quoted by Brewer, *Religious Education in the Episcopal Church*, p. 280, from *Episcopal Magazine*, September, 1820, p. 289.

<sup>6</sup>*Gospel Advocate*, Vol. I, No. 1, January, 1821.

<sup>7</sup>*Gospel Advocate*, January, 1821, p. 25.

<sup>8</sup>*Gospel Advocate*, January, 1821, p. 36.

At the end of the first year of publication the editors wrote: "In taking a retrospective view of what they have done, the conductors are cheered by the hope that their labour has not been altogether in vain."<sup>9</sup> At the same time the patrons appealed for more subscriptions, stating that "hitherto the patronage offered to it has not been sufficient to defray all the expenses of publication." They also appealed for further literary contributions from the clergy of the five states making up the Eastern Diocese.

For two years the *Gospel Advocate* was faced with financial difficulties, but thereafter, though the editors wrote that "the patronage bestowed upon it has not been bountiful and it has increased in reputation more than emolument,"<sup>10</sup> nevertheless it was self-supporting. The editors wrote that they are chiefly indebted to the clergy and laity of Massachusetts for support of the publication, having received almost nothing from Rhode Island and the other New England states. They have, however, received some support from outside of New England, notably in South Carolina, and for this they are grateful; they have become involved in controversy with various clergymen over the subject of "lay exhortation" which they had opposed vigorously; they requested more support in order that the *Gospel Advocate* might continue to serve the Church, particularly in New England.

Beginning with the year 1822 the *Gospel Advocate* was published in Boston, at first by Joseph W. Ingraham and later by True and Greene. The editors frequently complained about "the discouraging circumstances which have arisen in the course of our editorial labors,"<sup>11</sup> these being presumably the controversies in which they had become involved and the lack of the support to which they felt they were entitled.

The *Gospel Advocate* continued until December, 1826, and at the time of its discontinuance it turned over its subscription list to the *Episcopal Watchman*.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4. GOSPEL MESSENGER AND SOUTHERN EPISCOPAL REGISTER (1824-1853)

The *Gospel Messenger and Southern Episcopal Register*<sup>13</sup> was published at Charleston, South Carolina, and was for many years the most influential publication of the Episcopal Church in the South. Its first

<sup>9</sup>*Gospel Advocate*, Preface to Vol. I.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, January, 1825, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup>*Gospel Advocate*, Preface to Vol. 5.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, December, 1826, p. 490.

<sup>13</sup>The subtitle varied, the word "Christian" sometimes appearing instead of "Southern."

issue was dated January, 1824, and thereafter the *Messenger* was issued monthly in 32 page octavo format, the subscription price being \$3.00 a year. The contents of a typical issue were as follows:

    Sermon on "I was glad when they said unto me, 'we will go into the House of the Lord,'" by a Layman (nearly seventy years old).

    "The Revised Canons," an article signed "Hooker."

    "Present Wants of the Church," by "Heber."

    "Constitution and Canons of the P. E. Church."

    "On Episcopal Resignations."

    "Efficacy and Success of Religion not Spontaneous," from *Theological Quarterly Review of Dr. Chalmers on Endowments*.

    "The Times," taken from *The Churchman*.

    "On Protracted Meetings," from the *Auburn Gospel Messenger*.

    "On Improving Theology," copied from the same source.

    "On Repeating Aloud the Responses of the Liturgy," from the *Christian Guardian*.

    "Temperance," a letter by William Wirt.

    "List of Books Recommended to Theological Students by the Bishop of London."

    "Hymn to the Holy Spirit" (contributed).

    Two poems, one on "Bishop Ken," and the other, "The Church Catechism Versified."

    "Religious Intelligence," under which general head were paragraphs about *A Lecture by Chief Justice Pinckney*, *Confirmation at Beaufort and St. Helena Island*, *The Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina*, *General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, and *Sunday School Union*.

    "New Publications," under which head there were reviews of *Divine Songs*, etc., by J. Watts: *Statement of the Case of Bishop Provoost*; and *Theological Common Place Book*.

    "Obituary Notices."

    "Protestant Episcopal Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina" (Report of).

    "Episcopal Acts" (Ordinations).

    "Calendar" for June.

    "Erratum."

Reviewing the *Gospel Messenger* in its fourth year, a contemporary<sup>14</sup> noted that it "is conducted by members of the Episcopal Church in Charleston, S. C., and is said to be the only religious magazine published south of Richmond. As it has been inadequately supported during the past year, a change has been made in the method of conducting it, which

<sup>14</sup>The *Episcopal Watchman*, March 26, 1827, pp. 6-7.

we trust will ensure it a circulation more commensurate with its merits. . . . The above publication must not be identified with a weekly sheet which has recently made its appearance in Auburn (N. Y.) with the same name and with similar objects.<sup>15</sup> . . . It is to be regretted that, for purposes of discrimination, a different title had not been adopted" [by the Auburn periodical].

The *Gospel Messenger and Southern Episcopal Register* continued, despite frequent financial troubles, through twenty-nine volumes, coming to an end apparently in 1853.<sup>16</sup>

## 5. PROTESTANT EPISCOPALIAN AND CHURCH REGISTER (1830-1838)

In February, 1830, a circular sent to the clergy and many of the leaders of the Episcopal Church announced the intention of two Philadelphia clergymen, Edward Rutledge and Francis L. Hawks, to gather together and publish in periodical form the historical records of the Church. They accompanied this announcement with a questionnaire in regard to the parish and diocesan history of the recipients and a certificate of approbation signed by Bishops White of Pennsylvania and H. U. Onderdonk, his assistant.

This notice was followed shortly by the issue of the first number of the *Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register*, the successor to the *Church Register*.

In its introduction the *Protestant Episcopalian* stated :

"The editors of the late *Church Register*, the existence of which terminated at the close of the year that has just expired, intended, until within a few days past, to continue its circulation, being fully persuaded of the utility of a periodical, which would serve as a means of extending correct views of the Church, of defending her against the assaults of her enemies, and of conveying to her members information concerning her movements. Circumstances, however, occurred which led to an alteration of the plan on which the editors have hitherto proceeded, and after mature deliberation, it was resolved to drop the weekly paper, and establish the *Monthly Magazine*, which is now to go forth and seek the patronage of the Church. It is not deemed necessary to enumerate, *in extenso*, the reasons which have conduced to this alteration in our design, or the advantages, which, it is hoped, will result therefrom; but it may be proper to remark, that we experienced difficulties in conducting a weekly paper, in such a manner as to subserve the

<sup>15</sup>See above, pp. 240-245.

<sup>16</sup>The General Theological Seminary Library has a file of these 29 volumes, which are valuable for Southern Church history in this pre-Civil War period.

great interests of the Church, to the extent which was desirable; that extended discussions, which were calculated to enforce or elicit truth, were necessarily excluded from its pages, and that oftentimes in the hasty preparation of articles, incident to such publications, remarks have been offered and concessions made, which more mature deliberation would have held back."<sup>17</sup>

In short, it was apparently felt by the editors that once a week was too frequent for the publication of thoughtful Church material and that a 40-page monthly periodical would be more satisfactory for this purpose.

The *Protestant Episcopalian*, despite the Protestant character of its name, was a high church or Anglo-Catholic organ devoted to the principle that "Peace is purchased at too dear a rate when the price for it is surrender of principle." The subscription price was \$2.50 a year. Among the members of the editorial board at its outset was Jackson Kemper, soon to become the first missionary bishop of the Church.

The *Protestant Episcopalian* continued for a number of years. As an example of its nature the contents of one issue were as follows:<sup>18</sup>

Stephen—A five page article on the first martyr.

The Church—An unsigned poem quoted from the *Churchman*.

Twilight Fancies—Another unsigned poem, quoted from the *Connecticut Observer*.

Secrets of Confessions made to the Clergy—A discussion of the Civil Law regarding privileges of the clergy as to information gained in the Confessional.

No Union Without Agreement—A long discussion of Church relations quoted from a letter in the *Churchman*.

The Rock of the Church—An interpretation of the text "Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church" and the claims of the Roman Catholic Church.

Several other short poems.

Time of the Last Passover—Quoted from the *Sunday School Journal*.

Roman Customs, quoted from the *Sunday School Journal*.

The Inquisition—A study of the various tortures of the Inquisition, and the number of persons executed, attributed to "Dr. Brownlee."

Spiritual Counsel—An Original article of eight pages.

Hints to Clergymen—From the *Christian Watchman*.

Forms of Prayer and Prayers from the Jewish Liturgy—An original article.

<sup>17</sup> *Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register*, January, 1830, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 5, No. 4, April, 1834.

The Protestant Episcopal Female Tract Society—A letter to the Editor, containing extracts from Bishop Doane's sermon on this subject.

Death of the Rev. Dr. Montgomery—An obituary notice and accompanying service.

Address of the Bishop White Prayer Book Society.

Intelligence—A page chronicling ordinations, clerical changes, corner stone layings, etc.

In 1835 the editorial staff of the *Protestant Episcopalian* was enlarged and its objects restated as follows:<sup>19</sup>

"This Journal, first published under the name of the *Church Register*, has been established for six years. In entering on the seventh year of its honorable career, the editors make the following announcement to their patrons, by which it will be seen that the journal promises to be conducted with increased interest and ability.

"We have the pleasure of announcing to our readers that the 'Editorial Association' has just been enlarged, and the publication will in future be issued under the care generally of the following clergymen: Bishop H. U. Onderdonk, Rev. Dr. DeLancey, Rev. Mr. James, Rev. Mr. Morton, Rev. Mr. Cruse, Rev. Dr. Mead, Rev. Dr. Ducachet, Rev. Mr. Boyd, Rev. Mr. McCoskry, Rev. Mr. Sudders, and Rev. Mr. Clemson. With this accession we hope to proceed with renewed vigor.

"Our object, in conducting this periodical, is to present to the public such substantial articles on matters of doctrine and practice, as may be furnished by correspondents; and, as occasion may require, to offer to the episcopal public disquisitions and suggestions concerning the affairs and interests of the Church. In this department, we address the intelligent and reflecting of our communion; and we hope that the columns of the *Protestant Episcopalian* may be a means of improvement both to the writers and the readers. In the department of intelligence, the weekly papers have the advantage of us, they appearing four times to our once; of such matters, therefore, this work is more generally a record, than a vehicle of fresh news. Such a publication in its more important feature is, we think, required by the Church, and will, we hope, receive its continued and increasing support. The publisher desires us to say that the payment of arrears is always acceptable."

The issue of January, 1838, was the first issue of Vol. 9. The December issue in the same year was the last, and effected a transition between this publication which was being discontinued and the *Banner*

<sup>19</sup>From an advertisement in the *Churchman*, Vol. 5, 1835, p. 986.

of the *Cross* which was scheduled for publication in the first or second week of January, 1839. In an editorial<sup>20</sup> the editors announce "that the present will be the last number of the *Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register*." They add:

"It terminates the thirteenth year of its existence, during the greater portion of which the work has been gratuitously edited by an Association of Clergymen, looking to no other reward for their labors than the consciousness of aiming to promote the welfare of the Church and of man and finding in the delights of fraternal association ample compensation for all the trouble involved in conducting the paper. It is an anomaly we believe in the history of periodicals that we leave the world entirely out of debt, and through our publisher actually making a bequest to the Prayer Book Society of about \$100 in cash, and a couple of hundred in credits."

This was indeed a unique record in the history of journalism in the Episcopal Church.

In the same editorial the editors took occasion to discuss the contemporary journalistic situation in the Church and particularly in Pennsylvania. They pointed out that the columns of the *Protestant Episcopalian* had been remarkable free of "the intemperate clamorous and denunciatory" and especially of that controversy and "spirit of strife and contention" which had been "so authoritatively and deservedly rebuked in the Pastoral Letter of the House of Bishops, as a frequent characteristic of our religious journals."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup>*Protestant Episcopalian*, December, 1838, p. 472.

<sup>21</sup>*The Pastoral Letter issued by the House of Bishops in 1836 was written by Bishop Griswold of the Eastern Diocese. In it appeared the following paragraph on the Church press (Swords, Stanford & Co., 1838, pp. 14-15):*

*"While speaking on the subject of Christian unity, permit us to observe that your Bishops have noticed, with painful concern, that our religious journals, which ought to be to our Churches as messengers of peace on earth and good will towards men, diffusing among our people the knowledge of Christ and the love of God, are too much filled with unprofitable controversy; and, what is worse, that they not unfrequently manifest a spirit of strife and contention, inconsistent with brotherly kindness and Christian love. It is an evil which in the judgment of some, more than balances all the good which those journals effect. It is injurious to the cause of religion, and to our Church especially, causing us to appear before the world, as what we certainly are not, a divided Church. In no other way is the bond of Charity oftener broken, and unity disturbed, than by judging illiberally of the tenets and practice of others. This is now the way in which the spirit of persecution chiefly operates. It is happily, in a great degree, disarmed of its tortures and flames; but in slanders, and 'hatred and malice and all uncharitableness,' it still exists. From which let us pray in our hearts, as with our lips we do, that the Lord will deliver us. If we have occasion, which we should never seek, to speak of the errors or failings of any Christians, meekness, humility and compassion should possess our hearts. Ascribing the cause and blame of schisms or disunion to others, is more likely to increase than to diminish the evil; it is far better to give them good examples of unity and peace."*

No such claim, the editors felt, could be made for the other Church paper published in the same state, the *Episcopal Recorder*. They said:

"We desire to speak respectfully and kindly on this topic but with brotherly frankness and good temper, when we say that, as matter of fact, the *Episcopal Recorder* is not the representative, certainly not the authorized exponent, of the views, feelings, tastes, or tempers of the Protestant Episcopalians of this diocese."

Accordingly they announced their intention of converting the *Protestant Episcopalian* into a weekly periodical to give the people of the Church the kind of weekly that they felt should be published. This paper they announced would be the *Banner of the Cross* and would be sent to all subscribers as a matter of course, "to whose patronage and active interest we cordially commend it. Price \$2.50 in advance or \$3.00 if payment is delayed until after the first of June."

#### 6. *GAMBIER OBSERVER* and Its Successors (1830-1842).

The first Church paper published in the Middle West was the *Gambier Observer*. The initial issue was published by the Acland Press, Gambier, Ohio, under date of May 28, 1830.<sup>22</sup> Its story is an interesting and romantic one.

The founder and sponsor of the *Gambier Observer* was Philander Chase, the first bishop of Ohio and later of Illinois. A native of New Hampshire, Chase began his ministry as an itinerant missionary in Western New York, but in 1805 went to the far south where, on the recommendation of Hobart, he became the first rector of Christ Church, New Orleans.<sup>23</sup> We have already met him there as an agent in that remote outpost for the *Churchman's Magazine*.<sup>24</sup> Forced to return North on account of ill health in 1811, Chase became rector of Christ Church, Hartford, Connecticut, but in 1817 the missionary urge came upon him again and he went to Ohio at his own expense, being the second priest of the Episcopal Church to work in that state. A year later the diocese of Ohio was organized and Chase was elected bishop.

Bishop Chase was a great believer in the efficacy of two types of religious education—the Church college and the Church periodical. With

<sup>22</sup>*Smythe, George F., History of the Diocese of Ohio, p. 550. Privately printed, 1931.*

<sup>23</sup>*Manross, op. cit., p. 248.*

<sup>24</sup>*See supra, p. 214.*

help obtained from England, therefore, he early established Kenyon College. As early as 1823 he wrote Bishop White: "A printing press and types will be solicited and the young men or some proper portion of them will, at convenient hours of the day, be employed in printing tracts and a periodical publication." The purchase of the printing press was made possible by a gift of Sir Thomas Acland, and in 1825 the press was set up.<sup>25</sup>

A prospectus for a periodical to be entitled the *Christian Star in the West* or the *Moral and Theological Repository of the Diocese of Ohio* was prepared in 1823 with the provision that it would be established when 500 subscribers were assured at \$2.00 a year.<sup>26</sup> However, the first number did not appear until 1830 when an 8-page paper about 14x10 inches in size, with three columns to the page, was published with the title, *The Gambier Observer: Devoted to the Interests of Religion in the Protestant Episcopal Church*. The heading contained a picture of Kenyon College as it was to look when completed.<sup>27</sup> The first editor of the Observer was Prof. William Sparrow of Kenyon College, but he early gave up this work, and from 1831 to 1834 Prof. M. T. C. Wing was the editor.<sup>28</sup>

But the *Gambier Observer* appeared at a singularly unfortunate time, for it coincided with the beginning of a controversy between Bishop Chase and the faculty of the college. The second number, therefore, was not published until August 3rd, but thereafter it appeared with a fair degree of regularity.

At first financed by Kenyon College, the *Gambier Observer* shortly became the responsibility of a private stock company under the name of the Western Protestant Episcopal Press which, however, failed after two years when the paper announced that it had "passed into the hands of a few individuals." Beginning with Volume 8 in 1837, the name was expanded to *Gambier Observer and Western Church Journal*, its size having been increased to folio but with only four pages to a number.<sup>29</sup> A year later the Rev. Dr. Chauncey Colton, a professor in the Seminary, became editor and proprietor. He removed the paper to Cincinnati in 1840 and changed its name to *Western Episcopal Observer*, following out his plan of making it a general Church periodical for the Church in the West. Dr. Smythe says:<sup>30</sup> "It was much better than it had ever been before and contained a much larger proportion than

<sup>25</sup>Chase, Philander, *Reminiscences*. Dow, Boston, 1847. Vol. I, p. 201.

<sup>26</sup>Smythe, *op. cit.*, p. 549.

<sup>27</sup>Smythe, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

<sup>28</sup>Quoted by Brewer, *History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church*, from Walker, *Life of William Sparrow*, p. 87.

<sup>29</sup>Smythe, *op. cit.*, 551.

<sup>30</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 551.

formerly of reading matter that might conceivably interest a human mind; for it must be admitted that aside from its invaluable diocesan and college news the *Gambier Observer* had been very dull." However, after various reverses and changes in size, the *Western Episcopal Observer* came to an end in the fall of 1842.<sup>31</sup>

A similar periodical, the *Western Episcopalian*, was begun in August, 1843, and continued with various changes in editorship, ownership, name and frequency of publication until 1868, when it was succeeded by the *Standard of the Cross*, a weekly periodical that was later to obtain a considerable measure of influence in the Church. This periodical, however, belongs to a later period than that with which this study is concerned.

#### 7. NEW YORK REVIEW AND QUARTERLY CHURCH JOURNAL (1837-1842)

The *New York Review* was a quarterly periodical, edited by a well known clergyman of the Episcopal Church, the Rev. F. L. Hawks, but was not, strictly speaking, a periodical of the Episcopal Church.<sup>32</sup> It was rather in the nature of a general review written from the standpoint of Christianity, as will be seen by the articles that made up the first issues. These were:<sup>33</sup>

"The subjects of the several articles are, character of Mr. Jefferson, Utilitarianism, Cox's Life of Fletcher, of Madely, Crabbe, Affiliation of Languages, Chalmer's Natural Theology, Study of Works of Genius, Pastoral Visiting, Mrs. Newmans, Discoveries of Light and Vision, Combo's Moral Philosophy, Religious Opinions of Washington, and Analytical and Critical Notices."

The *Churchman* welcomed the *New York Review*, stating:<sup>34</sup>

"We have waited with impatience for the publication of the first number of this promising work and now greet its appearance with a cordial welcome and in full conviction that its living form will disappoint no reasonable expectations which were formed of it in embryo state. The mechanical execution is highly respectable, and saving a few errors, *Quæ incuria fudit humana*, has nothing to offend, but much to gratify the

<sup>31</sup>Dr. Smythe says, p. 551, that "Dr. Colton became involved in financial troubles."

<sup>32</sup>It is not listed as one of the "Periodical Publications Conducted on the Principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church" in the issues of the *Church Almanac* for the years during which the *New York Review* was published.

<sup>33</sup>Summarized in clipping from the *Churchman* in Chorley's collection.

<sup>34</sup>1837 clipping in Chorley's collection.

most fastidious taste. Of its twelve articles more than half are of a high intellectual character, while all breathe that noble and generous spirit which is so much needed to purify the literature, religion, and politics for our country."

After the first issue in March, 1837, financial difficulties incident to the panic of that year were encountered and the second issue was not published until October. Shortly before that time the publishers, George Dearborn & Co., 38 Gold Street, New York, issued a circular<sup>35</sup> as follows:

"The subscribers have the pleasure of announcing to the public that they have assumed the publication of this journal, of which the first number was issued in March last. The difficulties of the times occasioned a temporary suspension of the work, but the arrangements that have now been made will insure for the future its regular publication; the second number will appear on the first of October, and punctually thereafter every quarter. The work will continue under the editorial charge of Professor C. S. Henry, assisted by the contributions of the ablest writers of the country; and from the great favor with which the first number was received, and the interest so extensively manifested in the work, the publishers anticipated a generous support. Subscriptions respectfully solicited."

An added note by the proprietor<sup>36</sup> said:

"The friends of the Church and of a sound national literature, who are disposed to favor an undertaking, commenced, indeed at an inauspicious moment, but by the generous advances of pecuniary assistance on the part of several gentlemen who appreciate its importance, now enabled to be carried on, are earnestly requested to contribute their assistance to the success of the experiment by subscribing for the *Review* themselves, and extending its circulation in their vicinity. The terms are \$5 per annum, payable on delivery of the first number."

The *New York Review* continued until 1842.<sup>37</sup>

## 8. OTHER MONTHLY AND QUARTERLY PUBLICATIONS

A number of other monthly and quarterly periodicals were published in the 1820's and 1830's, most of them being of local importance only. Among them may be mentioned the following:

<sup>35</sup>Quoted in the *Churchman* in a clipping included in the Chorley collection.

<sup>36</sup>Given in the same clipping from the *Churchman*.

<sup>37</sup>*Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church, Volume V (September, 1936), p. 230.*

The *Episcopal Register* was published from 1826 to 1829, at Middlebury, Vermont. Its aim was "to place a monthly collection of religious matter, consecrated to the service of episcopacy and the Gospel within the reach of everyone who feels any interest in the progressive improvement, and dissemination, or both, of either of these causes."<sup>38</sup> The editor was the Rev. B. B. Smith of Middlebury, and the subscription price was \$1.00 a year. The circulation of the *Episcopal Register* appears to have been very small and was probably mostly confined to the state of Vermont.

The *Episcopal Sunday School Magazine* was a little eight page magazine issued in the summer of 1827 by the Rev. Lewis P. Bayard of New York. Only one issue of this periodical is in existence and it is doubtful if others were issued.

The *Christian Warrior* began in January, 1828, in Philadelphia. The editor was the Rev. Benjamin Allen, who formerly, before his ordination, had founded and edited the *Layman's Magazine*.<sup>39</sup> This was to be a 16-page weekly, but soon became a monthly periodical, its name being changed to the *Christian Magazine*. This change was consequent upon the purchase of the subscription list of the American edition of the *London Christian Review and Clerical Magazine*.<sup>40</sup>

The following extract from the editorial in the second number gives the views of the editor:

"The Editor of this publication feels that he is called upon to say something concerning his views, and the principles by which he expects to be governed. They are then, in general, the principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church. A minister of that Church, he loves her doctrines and her views of polity."—"He resolves to set forth precisely the views of polity advocated by Bishop White in his pamphlet of '83, and again declared as held by him in 1820: Those views which have promoted the moderation of his long career, and still permit him to preside over the oldest of American Bible Societies—those messengers of God. He holds the doctrine of the sovereignty of the Most High, and the free agency of man."—"If he were to select any human work which expresses most completely his views of doctrine, that work would be the CHRISTIAN OBSERVER. Prayer-meetings, as recently advocated by the Bishop of the land of his fathers—Bishop Griswold—whose apology, or rather whose defence of prayer-meetings, it is his design to have stereotyped—he believes are nurseries for Heaven. Bishop Burnet, in his History of his own times, informs him, that in prayer-meetings

<sup>38</sup>*Episcopal Register, Vol. I, No. 1, January, 1826.*

<sup>39</sup>See Chapter IV, *supra*.

<sup>40</sup>*Memoir of the Rev. Benjamin Allen, pp. 362 ff.*

were born societies which have, for now more than a century, run their active course—one of which, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, planted the Episcopal Church in America.

“Revivals of religion he prays may abound, until all Laodiceans are renewed in the spirit of their mind.”

In March, 1828, the Rev. Benjamin Allen sailed for England, leaving the running of the *Christian Magazine* to his brother, the Rev. Thomas G. Allen. Subsequent issues contained some interesting accounts of Benjamin Allen’s travels, received from him by mail. These accounts, supplemented by the extracts from his journal published in his *Memoir*, give an interesting picture of the Church of England in 1828, as seen through the eyes of an American clergyman.

Benjamin Allen was taken ill in England. He died on the return voyage, on January 13, 1829, and was buried at sea the following day. The *Christian Magazine* was discontinued shortly thereafter. Dr. Brewer describes the *Magazine* as a “militant Low Church publication.” Its chief value is the record of intercourse between the Churches in England and America, on which it throws some light.

The *American Pulpit*, beginning at Boston in 1831, and continuing the following year in New York where it changed its name to the *Protestant Episcopal Pulpit*, was a monthly sermon magazine, consisting for the most part of *verbatim* copies of sermons printed by Church leaders. The more important of these had their own title pages and perhaps were reprinted separately from the magazine. Most of the leading bishops and prominent preachers of the day were represented in its columns at one time or another. Many of the sermons were very long, in the fashion of the day. It is interesting to notice that many of them were concerned with matters that were later to be dealt with by the Oxford Movement in England and America. There is, for example, in 1834, a sermon at the consecration of Bishop James Hervey Otey of Tennessee by Bishop George Washington Doane, in which the Catholic doctrine of the office of a bishop is set forth. Another sermon on the use of holy garments in 1834 advocates the use of the surplice in Church services.<sup>41</sup> The *Protestant Episcopal Pulpit* was discontinued in 1836, after the death of its publisher, John Moore.

The *Missionary* was a little periodical issued at Burlington, New Jersey, from September, 1834, to December, 1837, under the patronage

<sup>41</sup>It is impossible to give page references for these sermons as it was customary for each sermon to carry its own page numbers.

and editorship of Bishop George Washington Doane. Its stated object is given as follows:<sup>42</sup>

"The *Missionary* is sent forth to preach the Gospel. Its continued aim will be to turn sinners to righteousness, and 'to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.' As the only means by which so great an end can be accomplished, it will set forth 'The Cross of the Lord Jesus Christ'—'the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world,' lifted up from the earth that he may draw all men unto him. Man lost—God incarnate for his recovery—'Christ crucified' the price of his restoration—justification by faith,—faith working by love,—love purifying the heart,—salvation wholly by grace,—the grace which produces salvation for the sinner, preparing him by newness and holiness of life for its enjoyment,—such, in broad outline, is that 'faith of the gospel' which the *Missionary* will preach.

"Subsidiary, but not separable from the Cross, it will set up the Church, the body of the Lord Jesus, 'the pillar and ground of truth,' the fold and the flock of God, 'which he hath purchased with his own blood.' Its ministers, its sacraments, its worship—the appointment of the Lord, the means of grace, the instruments of the Divine Spirit to the Sanctification of the soul, the *Missionary* will constantly set forth as 'worthy of all men to be received.' Its speech will thus be, like the Apostle Paul's, 'concerning Christ and the Church,' and the subject of its mission may be stated in these few familiar words, 'EVANGELICAL TRUTH: APOSTOLIC ORDER.'"

Although it was short-lived, the *Missionary* is valuable to historians, as it is one of the most important sources for the historic General Convention of 1835, which was reported in its columns by Bishop Doane. There is also a valuable account, by Bishop Doane, of the last illness and death of Bishop White.<sup>43</sup>

Another short-lived periodical at this time was the *Church Advocate*, published at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1835 and 1836, as the private venture of a prominent layman, Dr. John E. Cook. It was a folio monthly publication, with a subscription price of \$1.50 a year.<sup>44</sup>

The national organization for promoting the missionary work of the Church was known as the "Domestic and Foreign Missionary

<sup>42</sup>Quoted in the *Churchman*, Vol. IV, pp. 734-735.

<sup>43</sup>This periodical, a bound volume of which is in the General Theological Seminary library, was used as source material by Drs. Hardy and Stowe for new material on the 1835 General Convention published in the Bishop Kemper Number of the *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, September, 1935 (Volume IV, 152-179, 195-218).

<sup>44</sup>Brewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-299.

Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." It was organized in 1820 and its records were kept in a volume called *Proceedings of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*. While this was not strictly speaking a Church periodical it is important to the history of religious journalism inasmuch as it was a predecessor of the *Spirit of Missions*. Its first volume was dated 1823 and carried the records from the formation of the Society to the General Convention held in Philadelphia in May, 1823.

A quarterly periodical was begun by the Board of Missions in March, 1828, under the title *Quarterly Papers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church*. The history of this publication, which was another forerunner of the *Spirit of Missions*, is described by Dr. Brewer as follows:<sup>45</sup>

"Numbers for March, June, September and December, 1828, and for July, 1829, appeared; then there was a gap until March, 1830, when the Society's *Missionary Paper*, numbered and paged continuously with these five *Quarterly Papers*, continued the work of spreading missionary news. After the issues for June and September, there was another interruption. In March, 1831, began the Society's third attempt at systematic publication of news of omission work; in that month the *Periodical Paper* came out. Under this name and with a new serial numbering, nine issues appeared before the end of the year 1832. In January, 1833, and thereafter until 1836, the *Missionary Record* was the Society's monthly organ of communication. It cost a dollar a year, sixteen octavo pages each issue. In January, 1836, the *Record* was replaced by the *Spirit of Missions*."<sup>46</sup>

Other monthlies and quarterlies, mostly of local interest and having a small following, were:

*American Biblical Repository*, published from 1831 to 1844.

*American Quarterly Observer*, 1833 to 1834. The editor was R. B. Edwards, and in January, 1835, it was merged into the *Biblical Repository*.

*Christian Library*, 1834-1835. This was a folio publication published in New York, and contained reprints of articles.

<sup>45</sup>Brewer, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

<sup>46</sup>See chapter VIII.

*Episcopalian*, 1837, Columbia, Tenn.<sup>47</sup>

*Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal*. This was a monthly published in New York from 1828 to 1834, of which the Rev. Absalom Peters was editor.

*Literary and Theological Review*, 1834-1839, published in New York and Boston. L. Woods, Jr., was editor from 1834 to 1837, and C. D. Pigeon was editor from 1838-1839.

*The Manuscript*, 1827-1828.

*Religious Magazine*, 1828-1830. Published in Philadelphia by E. Littell.

## 9. CHILDREN'S MAGAZINES

*The Gospel Messenger* (Auburn, New York) of January 24, 1829, says:

"We lately gave a brief notice of the *Family Visitor and Sunday School Magazine*, and we have received the first number of the *Children's Magazine*, both of them publications under the management of the executive committee of the Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union. The work first mentioned is published in New-York, once a fortnight, at one dollar per annum, payable in advance. The *Children's Magazine* is published monthly, in 24 pages 18mo at the very cheap rate of twenty-five cents per annum, payable in advance. These works, judging from the specimens before us, and from the assiduity and talents of the gentlemen who are immediately engaged, promise much interest to the teachers and pupils. The *Children's Magazine* appears to be very happily designed to engage the attention of young minds as soon as they are able to read."

The *Children's Guide* was another children's magazine, which

<sup>47</sup>Probably this periodical was merely projected and never actually published. A note in an 1837 issue of the *Episcopal Recorder* (exact date unknown; quoted from a clipping in Dr. Chorley's collection) says: "The *Episcopalian*—We learn that a new paper under this title is to be published at Columbia, Tennessee, to be devoted, of course, as its title implies, to the interests of religion in connexion with the Episcopal Church. We obtain this information from our exchange papers, not having seen a copy of the western periodical itself. There is certainly abundant room in the western and southwestern portions of our country for the circulation of such a paper. We hope that it may be the means of impressing upon multitudes the saving truths of the gospel." A letter from the Rev. George Weller to Bishop White, written from Tennessee (now in the library of the Church Historical Society) says that the statement in some of the Eastern Church papers that this periodical had been established was premature, as he had not yet done so, although he had contemplated it. In 1838 Weller moved from Nashville to Memphis, and in 1839 to Vicksburg, Mississippi. It is more than probable that the periodical was never started.

seems to have been started in the autumn of 1834. Of these two magazines Brewer says:<sup>48</sup>

"Two magazines for children were in existence at the opening of the year 1835, the *Children's Magazine* and the *Children's Guide*. The former was published, beginning in January, 1829, by the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union, in New York City; it has already been described under the head of that society's publications. For a good many years it had a relatively large circulation. On the other hand, the *Children's Guide*, issued in Portland, Maine, ended its brief career in the summer of 1835. In the absence of further information about this magazine we may conclude that its place of publication was too remote to allow much of a circulation outside of New England,—and there a magazine conducted on the plane of childhood experience was contrary to ingrained beliefs that children were miniature adults and had no life of their own that could not be adjusted to adult standards. The *Sunday Visitant* started in Charleston, South Carolina, in January, 1818, has been mentioned as a weekly paper intended chiefly for 'young Persons,' but it was not sufficiently adapted to boys and girls to be listed as a children's magazine."

The *Children's Magazine* (1829-1850) had great influence for its day. Starting with a circulation of 5,000 in 1829, it had increased to 7,500 in 1835. It was a considerable innovation in religious education for its time.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup>Brewer, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

<sup>49</sup>Brewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-196.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CHURCHMAN (1831- )

ON March 26, 1831, there appeared in New York a four page folio publication entitled the *Churchman*, bearing beneath the title the slogan: "The Church of the Living God, the Pillar and Ground of the Truth."<sup>1</sup> The name of the Rev. John W. Curtis, A. M., was given as editor,<sup>2</sup> and his name was continued at the head of the paper until August of that year.<sup>3</sup> In the issue of August 27, 1831, the following notice appeared:

"The Rev. John W. Curtis has relinquished the editorial charge of the *Churchman*."

"The Rev. Mr. Curtis has requested us to state that the second term of the Collegiate School, of which he is the principal,<sup>4</sup> will commence on Monday, the 5th of September. His whole and undivided attention will now be given to this institution and he trusts that the reasonableness of its terms<sup>5</sup> and its regulation by a well known and highly distinguished Board of Trustees will secure for it the attention of parents and guardians. He hopes by unremitting attention and exertion on his own part to render the Institution in every respect worthy of patronage."

A further announcement stated that "the subscription list has now attained an extent deemed sufficient to warrant the Protestant Episcopal Press, heretofore only the printers for the proprietors, in assuming in the confidence of a continued and increased support the whole responsibility of the paper which they have accordingly done."

"It will for the present and until further notice be conducted by the editor and agent of the press (W. R. Whitting-

<sup>1</sup>*I Timothy*, iii:15.

<sup>2</sup>*The Churchman*, Vol. I, No. 1, March 26, 1831.

<sup>3</sup>It last appears in the *Churchman* issued of Aug. 20, 1831.

<sup>4</sup>The Collegiate School was located at No. 75 Varick St., corner of Canal, and the advertisement in this same issue of the *Churchman* announced that "Young gentlemen will be prepared in this institution, either for admission into college or for the pursuits of active life. The course of collegiate training will be that established by the faculty of Columbia College."

<sup>5</sup>These were given as, for classical scholars, with full collegiate course, per quarter, \$10.00; for English scholars per quarter, \$6.00.

ham<sup>6</sup> and J. V. Van Ingen)<sup>7</sup> under the supervision as heretofore of the Bishop.<sup>8</sup> It is needless to add that no change will take place in the principles of the paper which will continue if not a champion at least an humble aspirant to the service of evangelical truth and apostolic order in their simplicity and integrity."

The original subscription rate of the *Churchman* was \$3.00 a year—the highest amount that had yet been charged for a weekly Church paper. It was announced that this high price was necessitated by the fact that in its first year the necessary expenditures would "exceed the avails"<sup>9</sup> but that after the first of January, 1832, subscriptions would be received at \$2.50 a year in advance. In addition the following proposition was urged upon subscribers:

"We look upon our present subscribers and upon such as may evince their good will by subscribing before the date of reduction as patrons to the paper, contributing the difference between the present and the reduced price as a free will offering toward the establishment of a weekly Protestant Episcopal periodical, emanating from the great commercial metropolis of our country. This statement is now made in the confident expectation that many who have been deterred from affording us their patronage by supposing that the present rate of subscription was to continue will cheerfully come forward to offer that as a donation, merely designed to reimburse the publishers what they hesitated to give as a matter of right. Our friends in the city have done well; but there is yet room to do more. It is now time for our well-wishers in the country to bestir themselves and say whether New York—the queen of our dioceses—shall suffer the publishers of her official organ of ecclesiastical intelligence of spiritual counsel, to be losers by their undertaking."<sup>10</sup>

The first issue of the *Churchman* contained an editorial announcement to the public which was of the nature of a prospectus, together

<sup>6</sup>Dr. Whittingham was later bishop of Maryland. He had previous editorial experience, having been editor of the *Family Visitor* (fortnightly) and the *Children's Magazine* (monthly). In 1829 he took charge of the work of the Protestant Episcopal Press, which was then the principal publishing house of the Episcopal Church. Vide, *Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, edited by James Grant Wilson, p. 435. For his complete biography, see William F. Brand, "Life of William Rollinson Whittingham," New York, 1886. Two volumes.

<sup>7</sup>Van Ingen was the brother-in-law of Dr. Whittingham. Van Ingen rendered distinguished service to the Church, especially in Western New York and Minnesota. See Charles W. Hayes, "The Diocese of Western New York," and George C. Tanner, "History of the Diocese of Minnesota."

<sup>8</sup>The Rt. Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D. For his biography, see E. C. Chorley, "Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church," Vol. IX (1940), pp. 1-51.

<sup>9</sup>The *Churchman*, August 27, 1831.

<sup>10</sup>The *Churchman*, August 27, 1831, p. 90.

with a letter of commendation by Bishop Onderdonk.<sup>11</sup> As the *Churchman* proved to be the first periodical of the Episcopal Church to endure permanently,<sup>12</sup> it will perhaps be worth while to quote this statement *in extenso*. The editor wrote:

"At the first presentation of our name and character to the public, it becomes us to make our bow in due form, and bespeak the favorable regards of those, who are to sit in judgment upon our destiny. To secure these, we think it will be required only to point the attention to a single fact—the undeniable want of a periodical like that which we propose to publish. It is well known that the Episcopal Church fills a more extended portion of the general view in the city of New-York, than in any other part of America: and it is equally well known that the Churchmen of this large and flourishing metropolis, have, hitherto derived fewer advantages from the periodical press, than their brethren of the south and north, the east and the west, who do not command either the wealth, the influence, or the reading population of the diocese of New York. The interval of time hitherto adopted by our publishers has been too great. The public taste, the taste of the age demanded something in the form of the ordinary newspaper. We propose to meet that demand.—And shall it be said, that, while our daily papers are bearing off the palm from every sister city in the mercantile world; while a tremendous and overpowering influence is exerted by them, in the political world; and while our brethren of other denominations are pouring out, week after week, their printed columns upon every side of us—shall it be said, that the Churchmen of New York, either cannot, or will not sustain a periodical like the one now presented for their support? We trust not.

"In regard to the principles of our paper, a few brief remarks will suffice. Our title speaks for itself. We love, we venerate the Church. With St. Paul, and with our late lamented Bishop, we hold it to be 'the pillar and ground of the truth.' We regard it as our solemn duty, to set forth before all the world, upon every proper occasion, and by every honest method, the excellence and the beauty of the Church; and when called upon, we ever shall 'be ready to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason for the hope that is in us'; but at the same time, 'with meekness and with fear.' We shall never court controversy; but we shall stand firm as the rock upon our defence, always remembering 'that most excellent gift of charity, the very bond of peace, and of all virtues.'—And where is the Churchman, we ask, who would wish us to do otherwise?

"A word as to the manner of conducting the paper, and

<sup>11</sup>*The Churchman*, March 26, 1831, p. 2.

<sup>12</sup>*It is still published at this time, despite one or two interruptions.*

we have done. It shall be our object to combine variety and interest with utility. We shall endeavor to give a faithful record of ecclesiastical intelligence, and our columns shall be always open to communications tending to illustrate the history, the doctrines and the practice of the Church. And while the sublime study of theology may lead us now and then 'to the height of some great argument,' in order to enliven and refresh our pages, we shall not hesitate to avail ourselves of the literature of the day, of the lighter departments of composition, and of that kind of *small* change which now passes current in the republic of letters. We are aware of the danger of making large promises. We do not like to hear them, and we do not like to make them; but we think we have ample reason to make known our conviction, that the public will not be disappointed in our efforts to please, when we announce the fact, that our brethren of the clergy generally, in this city, have given us the kindest assurances of frequent and liberal cooperation and contribution. Of the talent, the learning, the taste and the piety of these gentlemen, it would be superfluous to speak; they are well known to the public, and their aid cannot fail to insure to our columns everything, which may be requisite to render them interesting and instructive.

"In conclusion, we beg leave to state, that the Right Rev. Bishop Onderdonk has kindly furnished us with the following letter, addressed to the Clergy and Laity of the diocese of New York; and we humbly anticipate, that the interest, which is therein manifested, for our success, will awaken, throughout the diocese, a corresponding interest in the prosperity of

"THE CHURCHMAN."

Bishop Onderdonk's letter was a lengthy one, expressing full confidence in the new periodical. At the same time, Bishop Onderdonk did not forget that one Church periodical was already being published in his diocese and accordingly he added:

"But my brethren in recommending the *Churchman* to your patronage and support I am far from forgetting my own obligations and those of the diocese, of our Church at large, and of the general cause of religion, to that highly valuable paper, the *Gospel Messenger*, which has, for some years, been published at Auburn, in this diocese. I have long considered it as one of the best papers of the kind, in reference to its particular sphere of usefulness, within my knowledge. It is the most efficient missionary agent in the interesting and important western section of our state. May its worthy, well

qualified, and indefatigable editor be rewarded for his unwearyed labors in the cause of Christ and the Church, by an enlarged and permanent patronage to his excellent paper. I ask not one of my brethren in the West, Clerical or Lay, to take the *Churchman* unless he also takes the *Messenger*. His first duty is to the latter for it may reasonably be expected to be better able to meet the exigencies of the Church in that region than any paper published elsewhere. I am sure, however, that the means exist very extensively, and may I now hope that the disposition is as extensive?—to take both, and thus widen the field of useful information, and strengthen, more effectually, the good cause of our Church; which, the more it is impartially investigated, is the more seen to be one with the best interests of the everlasting Gospel.

“Commending that cause to your pious devotion, and willing and liberal co-operation, and yourselves to the blessings of God’s providence and grace, I am, Brethren, Your affectionate Diocesan, Benjamin T. Onderdonk.”

Recognizing the value of advertising, the *Churchman* carried advertisements in its columns from the outset. In the first issue there was a lengthy advertisement of the New York Protestant Episcopal Press which had been instituted in 1828 and before long there were other advertisements of publishers, Church schools, and the like. One interesting type of advertising was that of pew rentals, of which the following is typical:<sup>13</sup>

#### ST. THOMAS’ CHURCH

“Persons wishing to hire Pews in this Church are requested to apply to David Hadden, 61 Pine St., C. N. S. Rowland, 45 Water St., Wm. H. Jephson, 13 Bond St., Robert Gracie, 20 Broad St.

“One of the Committee will attend at the Church this afternoon (Saturday) at 4 o’clock.

“May 14.

4 w.”

The *Churchman* continued for some time as a four page folio publication with five columns to a page. As an example of the nature of its contents during the editorship of Drs. Whittingham and Van Ingen, the contents of a typical issue selected at random gives the following distribution of material:<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup>*The Churchman*, May 14, 1831, p. 31.

<sup>14</sup>*The Churchman*, November 26, 1831.

Page 1: Morning. A poem by John Keble, 1/2 column.

(141) Narrative. Diothrephes—An instructive History, quoted from the Dublin *Christian Examiner*, 2-1/2 columns.

Missions. Extracts from the Periodical Missionary Paper for November, containing reports from Kentucky, Missouri, Mississippi, and Florida. 2 columns.

Page 2: The Essayist. Observations on a sermon by “the (142) late Dr. Rice, of Virginia, published so far back as 1825,” the quotation being taken from the New York *Observer*. Also another article under the Essayist on Faithful Preaching, the two of them taking up 3-1/2 columns.

Miscellaneous notes, half news and half editorial, under the heading, The Churchman.

Page 3: Continuation of these notes, 2-1/2 columns.

(143) Death notice, 1/4 column.

Intelligence, i. e., clerical changes, official notices, and summary of domestic and foreign news—the latter from England, Newfoundland, Barbados, Antigua, 1-1/2 columns.

Acknowledgments and Advertisements, 3/4 column.

Page 4: Poem by George Herbert, 1/2 column.

(144) Practical. Extracts from various periodical and literary sources, 1-1/2 columns.

Scriptural. An article quoted from the Dublin *Christian Examiner*, 1-1/2 columns.

Biblical Criticism. A commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew, taken from the *Eclectic Review*, slightly over 1/2 column.

Advertisement of the Protestant Episcopal Press, and list of agents for the *Churchman*, the balance of the page.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup>These agents were very widely distributed through the Church of the day being listed in the following states: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Ohio, Louisiana, Kentucky and Tennessee.

The purpose of the *Churchman* was repeated in each issue as follows:

"The object of this paper, as a religious periodical, is, of course, to disseminate religious intelligence, to elucidate Christian doctrine, and to explain and enforce the principles and precepts of evangelical piety.

"For the proper and more effectual accomplishment of these general objects, it will be particularly devoted to the interests, in every department, of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and to this end will maintain and set forth, and when necessary, defend these principles and that policy, which had the well-known warm and decided sanction and approbation of the late venerated and beloved Bishop Hobart; and in the application of which, he so faithfully and successfully labored in behalf of that cause to which 'The *Churchman*' will be devoted, 'Evangelical Truth, and Apostolic Order.'"

The *Churchman* suffered in its early days through frequent editorial changes. Dr. Whittingham resigned in 1832 and Van Ingen continued alone until February, 1833, when he was taken ill and had to give up the work.<sup>16</sup> At this point Dr. Whittingham took up the editorship again and continued it until the first of September, when the Rev. Samuel Seabury<sup>17</sup> became the editor. Dr. Seabury was to continue as editor for sixteen years, during which time the *Churchman* established and maintained its reputation as one of the greatest and most powerful periodicals of the Episcopal Church.

As stated in an earlier chapter,<sup>18</sup> the *Episcopal Watchman* petered out in the latter part of 1833. About the first of November in that year the *Churchman* took over the subscription list and good will of the *Episcopal Watchman*, thus establishing a measure of continuity with the earliest succession of periodicals in the Episcopal Church. It will be recalled that the *Episcopal Watchman* was the successor of the *Churchman's Magazine*, the oldest periodical in the Episcopal Church, the first issue of which had been published in January, 1804.

On the basis of this succession, the *Churchman* until recently carried in its masthead the claim to be the oldest religious journal in the

<sup>16</sup>*The History of the Churchman*, by the Rev. C. H. Brewer, Pt. II, published in the *Churchman*, November 21, 1925.

<sup>17</sup>Grandson of Bishop Seabury. Born June 9, 1801. Son of Rev. Charles and Ann (Salstonstall) Seabury. Ordained deacon, April 12, 1826; priest, July 7, 1828, by Bishop Hobart, and died October 10, 1872.

<sup>18</sup>Chapter IV, pp. 245-249.

English-speaking world,<sup>19</sup> and its cover design today carries the words, "Established 1804."

The *Churchman's* claim to this distinction is open to considerable doubt. For one thing its actual origin was in 1831 as a new publication, its connection with the *Episcopal Watchman* not being established until two years later.

In the second place, the *Churchman's Magazine* and the *Episcopal Watchman* were by no means continuously published from 1804 to 1833. There were, as we have seen, a number of gaps—notably from 1811 to 1813, from 1816 to 1821, and for a brief period in 1823 and 1824 between the Brownell and Bronson editorships.

In the third place the *Churchman* itself has not enjoyed uninterrupted publication from its establishment to the present day, for it was suspended from 1861 to 1867—a long interval of six years—and for other briefer periods.

As a matter of fact, there are other religious periodicals in this country that have a better claim than the *Churchman* to the title of the oldest religious periodical, especially if continuity of publication is considered. *Advance*, Congregational weekly published in Boston under the able editorship of Dr. William E. Gilroy, traces its history back to the founding of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* on September 1, 1808.<sup>20</sup> The *Christian Leader*, organ of the Universalist Church, is the direct successor of the *Universalist Magazine*, established July 3, 1819, by Hosea Ballou. The *Christian Register*, Boston Unitarian weekly, was founded in 1821 and carries at its masthead at the present time the statement: "In the one hundred and twenty-second year of continuous publication, the oldest religious journal in America bearing its original title."

But the record of being the oldest religious weekly with a continuous record of publication probably rightly belongs to the *Christian Observer*, organ of the Presbyterian Church, published in Louisville, Kentucky.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup>The *Churchman* did not always make this claim, for in an 1832 issue (exact date unknown, taken from a clipping in Dr. Chorley's possession), the editor notes: "The [New York] *Observer* proves, we think, that the oldest religious newspaper . . . is the *Boston Recorder*." This periodical is one of the papers merged in the present-day Congregationalist monthly, *Advance*.

<sup>20</sup>But Dr. J. Pressley Barrett, editor of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* in 1908, pointed out in his book, *The Centennial of Religious Journalism*, that it had not had an uninterrupted course of publication. From 1808 to October, 1817, it bore its original title; from May, 1818, to 1839 it was the *Christian Herald*; later, after an interval as the *Christian Herald and Journal*, it was changed back to the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*. Originally it was a bi-weekly; later successively a bi-monthly, monthly, and (from 1839) a weekly. In 1931 it was merged with the *Congregationalist*, which continued both titles for a time and then renamed the combined publication *Advance*.

<sup>21</sup>This claim has been frequently set forth and, I think, proved by the *Christian Observer*, notably in its issue of February 19, 1936.

This periodical was established September 4, 1813, as the *Religious Remembrancer*, and has been continuously published as a weekly from that date to the present. Its name was changed in 1840 to the *Christian Observer*. It holds the further record of having been edited by three generations of the same family for 115 years.<sup>22</sup>

The history of the *Churchman* has been told elsewhere<sup>23</sup> and as only a very small portion of this history took place in the periodical up to the end of 1840, which is the subject of our special consideration, it is unnecessary to do more than summarize it briefly here.

In its earlier days, the *Churchman* was definitely a high church or Anglo-catholic periodical. As such it was in spirit the predecessor of *The Living Church* of the present day rather than of the twentieth century *Churchman*.<sup>24</sup> From the days of Hobart there had been a very pronounced and influential high church tendency in America so that the way was well prepared for the Oxford Movement, which originated with the preaching and writing of Keble, Newman, and their associates in England in 1833. The *Churchman* welcomed the "Tracts for the Times," which were the principal medium for the expression of the catholic revival in the Church of England, and at the time of the *Churchman's* suspension at the beginning of the Civil War it was glad to say that it had always defended the Tracts "against every adversary worthy of notice." In its advocacy of the Oxford principles, the *Churchman* frequently had occasion to take issue with contemporary periodicals in the Episcopal Church, especially the *Protestant Episcopalian* and its successor, the *Banner of the Cross*, published at Philadelphia, and the *Church Register* published in the same city. Dr. Chorley gives an interesting picture of some phases of this controversy.<sup>25</sup>

"Little notice appears to have been taken in the United States of the earlier Tracts. Dr. Samuel Seabury said that he had inserted parts of them in the *Churchman*, but found they

<sup>22</sup>The editors of this periodical have been as follows: Dr. Amasa Converse, editor from Feb. 17, 1827, to Dec. 9, 1872; Dr. F. Bartlett Converse, associate editor and later editor from Jan. 7, 1858, to Sept. 29, 1907; and Harry P. Converse, successively business manager and managing editor from 1899 to the present. Vide, *Christian Observer*, Feb. 17, 1937, p. 2. This periodical is not to be confused with the *Anglican Christian Observer*, an American edition of which was published during most of the 19th century, as described in Chapter I, pp. 206-208.

<sup>23</sup>In a series of four articles by the Rev. Clifton H. Brewer, Ph. D., in the *Churchman* of November 14, November 21, and November 28, and December 5, 1935. Most of the following summary is taken from this source, except where it is otherwise credited.

<sup>24</sup>It is interesting to note in this connection that Dr. Tillotson Bronson, one of the early editors of the *Churchman's Magazine*, was a collateral ancestor of the present editor of *The Living Church*, who is also the author of this study.

<sup>25</sup>Men and Movements in the Episcopal Church, an unpublished manuscript by the Rev. Dr. E. Clowes Chorley, Historiographer of the Episcopal Church.

were regarded as dry reading and so confined them to the dust of his library. It was not until the appearance of Newman's *Tract on Justification* that they became a factor in the American Church. On that particular Tract Seabury thought that Newman had 'substantially espoused the Roman side, and surrendered the views which, as we have been accustomed to think, discriminate the Church of England from the Romanists on the one hand, and the Puritans on the other.' Nevertheless, he expressed the hope that the Tracts would be republished and read in America.

"The expression of this pious hope brought out a letter in the *Gambier Observer*, signed 'Crammer,' in which the writer took Seabury to task. He asserted that the Tract 'set the sinner to rely on his own righteousness for justification before God, and added, 'What heresy more awful' and went on :

"'Preaching another gospel. Though an angel from heaven do it, the command of inspiration is, "Let him be anathema." It is enough. Let them not be republished, any more than you would offer poisoned meat in the shambles. They will disgrace the Church that patronizes them, and corrupt the minds that receive what they contain. To say that the authors are learned and good, is of no weight. Have there been no learned and good authors among Popish theologians? But do we want their learning, with their false doctrines? To say that the Tracts have a great deal that is good and valuable, is of no weight. So have hundreds of books which we all wish had never been born; so has Den's theology, so has much that Priestly wrote. The German neological writings are full of valuable matter; but do we wish them to be published and read among our people? Would they be a treasure to our Church? The meat is putrid to the bone; we need no further examination.'

"To all of which Seabury replied in a bitterly sarcastic vein in the *Churchman*:

"'We knew well enough that *such* was the far-famed liberality of Churchmen who love to inhale applause on the platform of Amalgamation Societies, but we had yet to learn—that such are the freedom and independence of the West. Grieved indeed we are that a proscription which, for the charity of its spirit and its delicate and tasteful expression, is suited to the meridian of Maynooth College in Papal Ireland, should have emanated from the precincts of Kenyon College.'

"Early in 1839 the Tracts began to attract attention outside our Church circles. The *Christian Intelligencer*, a denominational paper, observed that 'the papists are looking with pleasure, and hailing the rise and apparent progress of the Oxford Tract Divinity. These subjects are beginning to attract attention in America. We have observed for some time past, in some of the strongly High Church papers, particularly the *Churchman*, views and sentiments strongly assimilated.'

lated to the Oxford Tract theology. Of late in reference to these Tracts the *Churchman* and the *Banner of the Cross*, printed in Philadelphia, speak of them with great kindness and partiality, although not willing wholly to endorse them. On the contrary, the *Episcopal Recorder*, the *Gambier Observer*, and the *Southern Churchman* take decided ground against them as anti-evangelical and anti-Protestant.'

"In the beginning the *Churchman* was cautious in writing of the Tracts. Conceding that their publication here 'would open to the American Church the sources of direct information respecting the Oxford divines, and would bring into circulation a system of theology widely different from the views which generally prevail in our country.' Seabury wrote:

"Heartily however as we approve of many of the Tracts which we have read, and much as we dislike the nibbling criticism with which they have been assailed, we have yet seen enough to awaken our apprehensions, that on other fundamental questions, as well as on justification, the Oxford divines are in danger of effacing those lines which broadly discriminate us from Rome and Geneva, and an adherence to which has formed, and we hope will continue to form, the distinctive character and glory which the Protestant Episcopal Church of this country has inherited from her venerable mother."

"As time went on this caution was thrown to the winds.

"On June 29, 1839, Mr. Samuel Coleman, publisher of New York, announced in the advertising columns of the *Churchman* his intention to issue 'A selection of the most interesting and valuable among the writings that have appeared within a few years in England, and which are commonly known under the name of the OXFORD THEOLOGY.' The series of six or eight volumes was to begin with the Tracts for the Times, by Members of the University of Oxford, and Plain Sermons, by contributors to the Tracts for the Times. In an editorial comment Seabury commended the enterprise and added:

"Whoever subscribes for them will do a good thing for himself and his family; his Church and his country. . . . Most sincerely therefore, do we hope that Mr. Coleman's project may be peacefully encouraged, and that the Oxford theology may be widely circulated, that no controversy may be awakened by it; but that the members of the Church may be left to form an unbiased opinion of its merits."

"The Tracts had a surprisingly large circulation in the United States. Bishop Stewart of Quebec remarked that he had heard more about them in a three days' sojourn in New York than in a year's residence in London. A correspondent from New England wrote the *Churchman* saying, 'Would you believe that in the country village of farmers and shopkeepers, your Oxford Tracts are read and talked about with as much interest, perhaps, as anywhere in the Church? They are too

poor to subscribe for many copies, but they lend them to one another and make their comments on them in a manner which surprises me.<sup>26</sup>

"The early Catholic bishops warmly espoused them. Bishop George Washington Doane of New Jersey said 'they needed no advocacy but their own,' and asserted that 'the charge of popery or heresy, is seen at once to be erroneous or malicious.' But their chief support came from Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk of New York and the *Churchman*."

The *Churchman's* advocacy of the Oxford Movement brought it into lively controversy with other Church periodicals. One of its most vigorous opponents was the *Church Record*. Curiously however, despite its rejection of the doctrines of Drs. Pusey and Newman, the *Church Record* vehemently claimed to be "High Church," and said:

"We feel sure that the time must come when our brethren will see that we were quite right in endeavoring to stem the torrent of the 'Low Popery' from Oxford; and, it may be, will even thank us for our labors. In the meantime, having a clear conscience in the matter, we can bear unjust imputations. We will never support opinions merely because they claim to be High Church, or seem, for the time, to give promise of being in the ascendant. A party name is not the stalking horse on which an honorable man will seek to ride into popularity and power."

Dr. Chorley also writes:

"Tract 90 found the *Churchman* undismayed. Dr. Seabury drew a clear distinction between the doctrinal decrees of Trent and the more flagrant abuses of the Church of Rome, and described the principle of the Tract as 'the toleration in our communion of those who were not opposed to the doctrinal decrees of Trent,' and added:

"'We do not deny that there are some views advanced in the Tract, both doctrinal and historical, which are not in accordance with our own; but we mean to say, that the principles of interpretation adopted in the Tract are, in our opinion, and as we understand it, neither evasive nor slippery, but honest, manly and straightforward.'<sup>27</sup>

"Later he wrote, 'For one we wish to be distinctly understood as going for the free *toleration* of Tract 90, and of all candidates for Deacon's and Priest's orders, and of all clergymen who, in other respects worthy of their calling, adopt the principles of the Tract.' Neither was Seabury disturbed by the publication of Ward's *Ideal of a Christian Church* which was

<sup>26</sup>*Churchman*, August 24, 1839.

<sup>27</sup>*Churchman*. Vol. XI, p. 28.

condemned by the University of Oxford. He wrote: 'In fact we go further, and say we are for the free *toleration* of Mr. Ward's book, and should be glad to see it reprinted in this country, and a copy of it placed in the hands of every clergyman.' He regarded the book 'as sound in the fundamentals of the Christian faith, devotional in its temper, and eminently practical in its aims,' and added, 'for our own part we are thankful to Mr. Ward for his book; thankful to the Church of England for Mr. Ward, thankful for the privilege of being able to read such a book.'<sup>28</sup>

Again, referring to the conversion of Dr. Newman to the Roman Catholic Church, Dr. Chorley writes:

"Outwardly, at least, the *Churchman* was undismayed by Newman's defection. 'The lapse,' Seabury wrote, 'of an individual, however distinguished, into any error, however extravagant, can never be a matter for surprise, much less consternation, to those who are familiar with the aberrations of the human mind.' He roundly blamed the Anglican Church, saying:

"By kind treatment and a liberal construction of the Articles, the Bishops might have retained these men; by harsh treatment and a narrow construction of the Articles they were sure to estrange and perhaps to lose them. They choose the latter alternative, and the same starched and narrow policy which was the occasion of Mr. Wesley's schism has been tried in another critical juncture and followed by the lapse of Mr. Newman. But this is not the worst. In their recoil from Mr. Wesley the governors of the English Church lost their balance and committed themselves to errors as bad or worse than his in an opposite direction; and so their successors in their recoil from Mr. Newman have countenanced worse errors in the opposite direction than any which Mr. Newman has taught or probably ever will teach. The Church of England has been far more injured by such defenders as Bishops Lavington and Whately than by such defections as Mr. Wesley's and Mr. Newman's. It is notorious that in their opposition to Mr. Newman some of the Bishops have advanced very lax sentiments respecting the sacraments and the divine constitution of the Church, and by not restraining, have encouraged looser views in others than they have advanced themselves. Others may lament over Mr. Newman; but for our part we think the low tone of doctrine which the treatment of Mr. Newman has brought to light to be much more a subject of regret."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup>Smith and Anthon, *A Statement of Facts in Relation to the Recent Ordination*, p. 12.

<sup>29</sup>*Churchman*, November 22, 1845.

“Other High Churchmen did not treat the matter so lightly. They were seriously disturbed. Bishop Whittingham thought that ‘Pusey’s stay more than outweighs Newman’s defection.’ At the same time he addressed a strong letter to Dr. Pusey in the course of which he said:

“‘A man, once loved and honored as a most dear brother, has lifted up his heel against his and our holy Mother, and set himself to destroy the evidence of her espousals. . . . Dare we bear with such conduct and seem to connive at it by using gentle language, or passing it by in silence? If schism be a sin, we must treat schismatics as sinners, or be ourselves partakers of their guilt.’”<sup>30</sup>

Although this study is concerned primarily with the period before 1840, it may be well to complete the story of the *Churchman* by a rapid survey of its subsequent history.

Dr. Seabury served as both proprietor and editor of the *Churchman* from 1833 to 1849 when these two positions were taken over by the Rev. William Walton, D. D., but in 1852 Dr. Walton sold the periodical to John Hecker, a layman. Of him Dr. Brewer writes:<sup>31</sup>

“Hecker seemed anxious to keep the paper up to its high literary standard; perhaps he intended even to improve on the past, for he put in as editor the Rev. Henry N. Hudson, the renowned Shakespearean scholar. Hudson continued the general policy and the high quality, too, of the *Churchman*. At least, he did so for a time, until the proprietor began to interfere with the editorial columns; then he resigned—in 1854.”

Following Hecker Mr. Thomas Ramsey, an English layman, served as editor for four years, but he apparently alienated more friends than he made for the periodical, and in 1858 a “new editorial arrangement” was announced. However, political disturbances were beginning to rend the Church as well as the State, and the beginning of the Civil War caused the *Churchman* to be suspended. The last issue of this series was that of May 2, 1861, in which the announcement was made that it could no longer continue in the “disturbed state of the country.”

Of the appearance of the *Churchman* during this period, Dr. Brewer writes:<sup>32</sup>

“The old *Churchman* looked much like a newspaper. For a long period its heading was in plain capital letters; some years before the Civil War it changed this type to Old English. It

<sup>30</sup>William F. Brand, *Life of Whittingham*, Vol. I, p. 443.

<sup>31</sup>Brewer, *op. cit.*

<sup>32</sup>Article cited in the *Churchman*, September 21, 1925.

started with five columns on a page; at the end of five years it enlarged this by one column, and in March, 1854, began to issue eight pages weekly, instead of four, going back to the five column page. By the time of this enlargement church news had increased considerably and there was more church literature to review. There was a large gain in the advertising department, too. The few hired spaces of former days increased anon until we find, shortly before the Civil War, dignified advertisements of church colleges and schools side by side with those of insurance companies, of paper hanging offers, of hair restorer, of Spalding's Prepared Glue and of Park's Prickly Plasters."

With the resumption of publication after the Civil War, the *Churchman* again established continuity with Church journalism in Connecticut.<sup>33</sup> The succession this time was through the *Chronicle of the Church*,<sup>34</sup> established in 1837, which later changed its title successively to the *Church Chronicle and Record*, the *Practical Christian and Church Chronicle*, and the *Connecticut Calendar*, which from 1845 was the official organ of the diocese of Connecticut. The numbering of the last named periodical was continued in the new series of the *Churchman*.

During its subsequent history the *Churchman* frequently absorbed other Church papers, notably in 1878 the *Church Journal*,<sup>35</sup> in 1871 the *American Churchman*, in 1883 the *Guardian*, in 1887 the *Church Magazine*, in 1888 the *Church Press*, in 1891 the *Church Year*, and in 1908 the *Church Standard*.

In 1867 there began the long association of the Mallory brothers

<sup>33</sup>*The History of the Churchman in Modern Times*, by the Rev. Clifton H. Brewer, in the *Churchman*, December 5, 1925.

<sup>34</sup>At the founding of this paper, in 1836, the *Churchman* said: "We have received a circular containing proposals for publishing a new paper, to be called 'The Chronicle of the Church.' The proposals are issued by Mr. A. B. Chapin, of Wallingford, Connecticut; and the paper is to appear under the auspices of the Bishop and clergy of the Diocese of Connecticut, in conformity with a vote passed during the late Commencement of Washington College, at an informal meeting of the Bishop and several of the clergy, requesting Mr. Chapin to issue proposals, and (in case of their success) to assume the editorship, under the direction, and with the advice of, the Bishop and Standing Committee of the Diocese. The *Chronicle of the Church* is to be published on a royalty sheet of ordinary size, and to be furnished to subscribers at \$2 per annum. Of the abilities of Mr. Chapin we can speak in terms of high commendation: and were we to name the signature under which he has, from time to time, enriched the columns of the *Churchman*, our readers would agree with us, that the contemplated journal is to be intrusted to a man of various learning, of ready and prolific pen, and uncommonly vigorous mind. If the acknowledged strength of Mr. Chapin shall prove to be sufficiently tempered with mercy, and guided with discretion, the Church will find in him an efficient advocate."

<sup>35</sup>This was a vigorous Anglo-catholic publication, published with great influence for a quarter of a century under the editorship of Dr. John Henry Hopkins, son of the bishop of Vermont of the same name.

with the *Churchman*. The editors at first were the Rev. Drs. George F. Mallory and William W. Niles, professors at Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. Dr. Niles was elected bishop of New Hampshire in 1870, but Dr. Mallory continued for 30 years to serve as editor of the *Churchman*. In 1877 he removed the office of publication to New York City and continued to edit the *Churchman* with moderation and sound churchmanship until his death March 2, 1897.

He was succeeded by his brother, Marshall H. Mallory, who continued as proprietor of the *Churchman* until 1912. However, the editorship was placed in the hands of Silas McBee, a layman from North Carolina, under whom the *Churchman* lost much of its influence and leadership because of the mildness of his editorial policy. From 1875 the *Churchman* was published in magazine format, though it continued as a weekly.

In 1912 Silas McBee left the *Churchman* to become editor of the *Constructive Quarterly*, an interdenominational publication, and Marshall Mallory relinquished the ownership of the *Churchman* to a group of New York clergymen and laymen. The Rev. Herbert B. Gwyn undertook the editorship for a few months, but in July, 1913, the Rev. Charles K. Gilbert, D. D., now suffragan bishop of New York, accepted the editorship, continuing for four years. Under his administration the *Churchman* became definitely a liberal and modernist publication and regained a large measure of the influence that it had lost under milder editorial policy. In January, 1918, the Rev. William Austin Smith became editor. He was a brilliant scholar and an able journalist, under whose leadership the *Churchman* reached its greatest heights. But Dr. Smith was not in good health and on September 27, 1922, after a long illness, he died.

Dr. Smith was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, who had been a member of the *Churchman* staff since 1917. Dr. Shipler continued the policies of Dr. Smith and under his leadership the *Churchman* has continued to be the principal organ of the liberal protestant school of thought in the Episcopal Church. Dr. Shipler also greatly developed the news columns of the *Churchman* which, however, was changed from a weekly to a semi-monthly publication in March, 1933.<sup>36</sup> It is thus no longer one of the Church weeklies, but it still summarizes the news of the Church twice a month and so retains many of the characteristics of a news magazine. The subscription price, formerly \$4.00 a year, was increased in January, 1942, to \$5.00 a year.

<sup>36</sup>In July and August only a single monthly issue is published.

## CHAPTER VII

*THE SOUTHERN CHURCHMAN (1835- )*

THE *Southern Churchman*, through its evangelical and missionary interest, gained much the same position in the South that the *Churchman* did in the rest of the Church. True, it took the other side of the question, so far as the Oxford Movement was concerned, but in that it accorded with the conservatism of its Southern followers and so continued to receive their support. This support was strengthened during the Civil War when the *Southern Churchman* cast in its lot with the fortunes of the Confederacy, and following the war many Southern Churchmen, who would have little to do with Northern institutions or publications, continued their loyal support of this periodical.<sup>1</sup>

The founder and first editor of the *Southern Churchman* was the Rev. William Fitzhugh Lee, son of Edmund I. Lee of Alexandria, Virginia.<sup>2</sup> Lee was a graduate of the Virginia Theological Seminary but had been compelled to give up active work on account of ill health. In its centennial number, the *Southern Churchman* says:<sup>3</sup>

"From the beginning he had for his paper the backing of the Seminary. In fact, there are reasons to believe that that Institution had more than a passing interest in the development of the *Southern Churchman*. Certainly, the happenings on 'the Hill' were chronicled with much more detail than was the case in later years.

"Mr. Lee had circulated a prospectus explaining his motives in publishing a religious journal. So far as is known, there

<sup>1</sup>However, the Rt. Rev. Joseph B. Cheshire, bishop of North Carolina, in *The Church in the Confederate States*, says that during the Civil War the *Southern Churchman* was circulated chiefly in the diocese of Virginia and was virtually a diocesan publication. The principal organ of the Church in the Confederate States was the *Church Intelligencer*, published in Raleigh from March, 1860, to April, 1864.

<sup>2</sup>This sketch of the *Southern Churchman* is based upon articles in the anniversary number of the *Southern Churchman*, January 5, 1935 (Vol. 100, No. 1), as the author has not examined a file of this periodical. Dr. G. McLaren Brydon writes that there is a fairly complete file for the first fifty or sixty years at the Virginia State Library, also a complete file of the first two years at the diocesan library.

<sup>3</sup>*Southern Churchman*, January 5, 1935, p. 6.

is no copy of this pamphlet extant,<sup>4</sup> but we read, however, in a subsequent editorial that the purposes for which the *Southern Churchman* was established were 'The promotion of practical piety, the diffusion of religious and general intelligence, and the maintenance of the distinctive principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church.'

"In looking over the first number of the paper, we are immediately struck with the amount of space given to missionary news, not only of the Episcopal but of all Churches. The death of the great William Carey is noticed; items from English Church papers are often copied. The *Spirit of Missions*, itself only a few years old,<sup>5</sup> contributed largely to this number, the editor searched far and wide for material to make his paper interesting and, it must be confessed, considered his scissors mightier than his pen, and used them constantly in his editorial work. From the beginning he tried to make his readers 'missionary-minded,' as we say today. That he succeeded is evident. Many letters from missionaries appeared, and increasingly news from foreign lands was printed, as the work of the Church spread. The paper was widely circulated. In an early number we find a protest from a reader against the word 'Southern' in its name, as this would seem to imply

<sup>4</sup>Although the original prospectus may have disappeared, it is quoted in full in the *Churchman* (date unknown, clipping in Chorley Collection). This said, in part:

"This publication will be commenced as soon as a number of subscribers sufficient to justify the step can be obtained.

"Its peculiar theology will be that of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

"A principal reason for the commencement of this publication is, that, with the exception of the *Gospel Messenger*, a monthly pamphlet, whose circulation is believed to be confined almost exclusively to the State of South Carolina, there exists no periodical devoted to the interests of the Protestant Episcopal Church throughout all our Southern and Southwestern Country, which embraces a population of five millions of souls . . .

"Second in prominence to the exhibition of man as a sinner, Christ crucified as an all-sufficient Saviour, and the Holy Spirit as an essential agent in the work of human salvation, the *Southern Churchman* will present the distinctive characteristics of *Episcopalians*. It will be the prompt and zealous advocate of institutions, properly conducted, designed to afford to members of the Church facilities for early instruction, and sound expositions of the nature and grounds of our pure faith, primitive order, and scriptural liturgy . . .

"The *Southern Churchman* will be published weekly in the City of Richmond, Va., at \$2.50 per annum, if paid in advance, otherwise \$3 will be demanded. Its sheet will equal in size and quality that upon which the *Episcopal Recorder* or the *Churchman* is published."

<sup>5</sup>This is an error, for the first issue of the *Spirit of Missions* was that for January, 1836, while the first issue of the *Southern Churchman* was a year earlier, bearing the date January 2, 1835. Dr. Brydon writes: "Our first issue is in very bad shape but we looked it over as best we could. There is a great deal of missionary news, but we did not find any mention of the *Spirit of Missions*. The author of that centennial statement must have intended to say that reports from the *Spirit of Missions* appear in the early numbers, and quite probably had in mind the publications of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society anterior to the *Spirit of Missions*."

that its influence and circulation were sectional rather than general.

"Bishop Meade gave his whole-hearted support to the *Southern Churchman*. In early numbers he contributed many articles and some of his sermons. He counselled the editor to present each week some article or story which would be suitable for reading aloud to children and servants. He himself furnished the first of these, a dialogue between two servants as to the validity of the conversion of one of them. If either 'Sambo' or 'Toney' could have understood a word which was put in their mouths by the good Bishop, he was indeed an exceptional servant.

"Mr. Lee, suffering from tuberculosis, soon had to leave Richmond, where he had been publishing the *Churchman* and go to his father's home in Alexandria. He moved his office with him and was able to continue his work up to the time of his death in May, 1837. The writer of his obituary in the *Southern Churchman* says of him: 'His popularity as a preacher of the Gospel rendered him universally acceptable. His zeal in the discharge of his sacred duties was of the first order. He possessed a mind of the most vigorous character and a spirit of Gospel industry seldom equalled. He was a firm and decided Episcopalian, but at the same time lived in peace and friendship with other denominations of Christians.'

"After an interim of a few months the Rev. Zachariah Mead became editor, which office he held until 1843. That he had his doubts about undertaking the work is shown by the following quotation from his first editorial. 'The advice was not without a plausible reason which a Right Reverend friend gave to one who had solicited it in relation to his acceptance of the editorship of a religious periodical: 'My dear Sir,' said he, 'if you do not wish to ruin your soul forever, let it alone.'

"Mr. Mead inaugurated a 'Junior Department.' We can early see the hand of Mrs. Editor in the selections chosen for the children, but no record has been kept on earth of the faithful work of the women who have contributed so largely to the success of this feature of the *Southern Churchman*. Even so, the 'poems' chosen to head the column left much to be desired from our present-day point of view. In 1843, Mr. Mead gave up the paper. As there are no numbers for this year in the files to which we have access, we are unable to give the reason for his resignation."

The history of the *Southern Churchman* from 1843 to 1937 may be very briefly summarized, since it is outside the time limit of this study. Following the resignation of Mead, the periodical was continued with a member of the Virginia Seminary faculty, Dr. E. R. Lippitt, as editor. In 1848 he resigned his editorial duties because of failing strength and the Rev. George A. Smith became editor, continuing in

this position until 1855. Then began the long editorship of the Rev. Dr. Francis Sprigg from 1855 to 1899. "During this time," says the *Southern Churchman*,<sup>6</sup> "he exerted an influence on the Church in the South which can never be measured. His name was a household word. . . . His style was 'as a writer clear, vigorous and pointed; he wasted no words and never left a doubt as to his meaning.' The story is told of a fellow minister who, knowing of Dr. Sprigg's reputation as a writer of obituaries, was heard to remark that 'it added to the terrors of death to know Dr. Sprigg would write one's obituary.'"

The *Southern Churchman* was suspended from May 24 to November, 1861, due to the occupation of Alexandria by Federal troops. Because of the continued occupation of Alexandria when publication was resumed it was at Richmond, but soon the exigencies of the Civil War again necessitated suspension.

After the war the publication of the *Southern Churchman* was resumed with a new series, beginning its numbering over again with volume 1, number 1. In this issue Dr. Sprigg explained that his office had twice been burned, his subscription list had been lost, he had no books and very poor mailing facilities. Accordingly he warned his readers:

"The editor not being a politician and the paper being published for Church purposes, the discussion of political subjects will form no part of his plan. There is a Kingdom higher than any of the kingdoms of this world which will be in existence when the head of every earthly ruler lies low in the dust."<sup>7</sup>

Publication of the *Southern Churchman* has been continuous from 1864 to the present day. Other editors have been the Rev. Dr. William Meade Clarke, from 1899 to 1914, the Rev. Dr. E. L. Goodwin, from 1914 to 1920, the Rev. Dr. W. Russell Bowie, 1920 to 1923, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Dunn and the Rev. Dr. R. Cary Montague from 1924 to 1927, Mr. Langbourne M. Williams, 1927 to 1931, Rev. Dr. Charles W. Sheerin, 1931 to 1936, Rev. Samuel B. Chilton, 1936 to 1940, and the present editor, the Rev. Beverley M. Boyd, who became editor in 1940.

The *Southern Churchman* continues to be published in Richmond, Virginia, as a weekly periodical of 16 to 24 pages, the subscription price being \$3.00 a year. It represents the low church evangelical wing of the Church, though it has become considerably more liberal, beginning with the editorship of Dr. Sheerin, than under any of its previous editors.

<sup>6</sup>*Southern Churchman, January 5, 1935, p. 9.*

<sup>7</sup>*Southern Churchman, new series, Vol. I, No. 1, July, 1864.*

## CHAPTER VIII

### *THE SPIRIT OF MISSIONS (1836- )*

THE year 1835 marked a great missionary advance in the history of the Episcopal Church. The General Convention of the Church in that year adopted the proposition that the Church itself is a missionary society and that every Christian, by virtue of his baptismal vow, is a missionary. Accordingly, it was declared that the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, which had been organized in 1821, was henceforth to include the whole Church and every baptized member of the Episcopal Church was to be considered a member of it.<sup>1</sup>

Before this time the extension of the Church had been entirely on a parochial and diocesan basis. That is to say, when a group of individuals in a particular community decided to organize a parish of the Episcopal Church, they got together and formed a lay organization, elected wardens and vestrymen, and incorporated under the law of whatever state they were in. They then called a clergyman on their own initiative and elected him rector of the parish.

When there was a sufficient number of such parishes in a state not yet having diocesan organization, the clergy and lay delegates would meet together in convention and elect a bishop. The bishop-elect might be chosen from among their own clergy or from the older established part of the Church. In any event, when his election had been ratified by a majority of the bishops and standing committees of the whole Church he was consecrated, generally somewhere in the East, and sent out to his new jurisdiction.

Such a procedure, for example, was followed in Ohio when Dr. Philander Chase was elected the first bishop and was consecrated February 11, 1819. Similarly, as the course of empire moved westward, Illinois was organized in the same way in 1833, and again Bishop Chase, who had resigned his jurisdiction of Ohio in 1831, was elected the first bishop.

A new procedure, however, was proposed and was put into effect in the election of Jackson Kemper at the General Convention of 1835 as missionary bishop of the Northwest. Under this method Bishop Kemper was commissioned by the whole Church, and was sent into a new ter-

<sup>1</sup>Wilson, *The Divine Commission*, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

ritory in which the Church had as yet scarcely begun any work.<sup>2</sup> It is said that when Bishop Kemper reached his field he found one church but no clergyman in Missouri and one clergyman but no church in Indiana.<sup>3</sup>

Within the next few years a number of such missionary bishops were sent out by the general Church. The new policy proved very fruitful indeed for within thirty years after the convention of 1835 the number of clergy and communicants had increased more than four-fold.<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Walter H. Stowe has pointed out<sup>5</sup> that the decade from 1830 to 1840 was a period of exceptionally rapid growth in the Episcopal Church. The General Convention of 1835, with its strong missionary spirit was, he believes, not the cause, but the effect of this vigor and vitality. During this period the number of dioceses increased from 18 to 25; congregations, from 760 to 1,092; clergy, from 602 to 1,109; communicants, from 31,000 to 55,000. Although the nation was also growing rapidly, the ratio of communicants to population increased from one in 433.5 as reported in 1832 to one in 319 as reported in 1841. This rapid growth was reflected in the number and strength of the Church periodicals during the decade. And the missionary enthusiasm was reflected in the founding of the *Spirit of Missions*, which made a strong appeal to the Church from the start.

The new missionary organization of the Church and the enthusiasm resulting from it seemed to call for a new periodical, published officially by the Church and devoted to the missionary cause. There had, to be sure, been a publication of the Board of Missions called the *Missionary Record*.<sup>6</sup> But this had been little more than a periodical publication of the notes of the Board's procedure, and little attempt had been made to gain a wide circulation for it, or to present it as a periodical for the whole Church.

<sup>2</sup>Although Bishop Kemper's official title was bishop of Indiana and Missouri, his work actually covered a very much wider territory, extending as far north as Wisconsin and indeed covering virtually all of what is now the Middle West. Illinois alone had a diocesan bishop and Bishop Kemper even performed various episcopal functions in that diocese at the request of Bishop Chase during his absence in England. Vide, Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church*, pp. 258-259.

<sup>3</sup>Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-273.

<sup>4</sup>Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

<sup>5</sup>In his unpublished lecture manuscript, *A Great Decade: 1830-1840*.

<sup>6</sup>In 1831 there was begun a bi-monthly called the *Periodical Missionary Paper*. This lasted two years and was succeeded in 1833 by a monthly called the *Missionary Record*. Files of these are preserved in the library of the General Theological Seminary, but neither attained a very large circulation. Vide, the *Spirit of Missions*, article "The Making of a Missionary Magazine," by the Rev. G. Warfield Hobbs, D. D., issue of January, 1936, p. 6.

The first number of the *Spirit of Missions* appeared under date of January, 1836. The circumstances leading up to its publication can be indicated by quoting in full the prospectus in the first issue, which reads as follows:

“The publication which now presents itself for the patronage of the Church, is issued by authority of the Board of Missions, and is to be edited under its direction. There needs no argument to enforce the duty of thus consecrating the Press, by making it tributary to the cause of ‘Christ and the Church.’ It is an instructive lesson of God’s providence, that when the fulness of the time had come for the redemption of his Church from Papal bondage and corruption, a new art was prepared, by whose strange agency, the truth, which was to make men free, should be borne forth, as ‘on the wings of mighty winds,’ to all the nations. It was in the promotion of this great cause, that the wonderful influence of the Press was first made manifest; so that ‘the art of printing,’ as has been well said, ‘answered in some measure, in this age of the revival of the Gospel, to the miraculous gift of tongues in the age of its first publication.’ It may be doubted whether we have paid sufficient heed to this instructive lesson of the consecration of the Press. If we fail to do so, great must be our responsibility to God.

“The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society has constantly recognized the importance of the Press, and in various forms employed its agency. Of its last periodical, ‘the Missionary Record,’ which terminated with the year, and to which the ‘Spirit of Missions’ now succeeds, it is but just to say, that, under the faithful superintendence of its Editor,—the Secretary of the Society under its recent organization, as he now is of the Board,—it has done excellent service to the Church. It would have rendered to the Missionary enterprize a far more powerful aid, had its importance to the cause been duly estimated by Churchmen.

“At the earliest possible day after the reorganization of the Society, the Board of Missions took order upon this subject. At their second meeting, on the day ensuing the adjournment of the General Convention, it was ‘resolved, that a Committee of this Board be appointed to take order as to a Missionary paper to be devoted to its interests, with full power to determine on the place from which it shall issue, to appoint the Editor, and determine on a compensation to the same, (if necessary,) and to prescribe the required directions.’ The Committee thus instructed and empowered, after due deliberation and inquiry, adopted the following resolutions, as embodying the ‘directions,’ in their judgment, necessary to be prescribed:—

“Resolved unanimously, That the title of the paper be as follows: ‘*The Spirit of Missions*, edited for the Board of Mis-

sions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, by .....; that it be published monthly, commencing with January, 1836, at such period of the month as may be settled by the Committee above named, on conference with the Editor; that it be neatly printed in octavo 16 pages,<sup>7</sup> with a cover; and afforded to subscribers at one dollar per annum, payable in advance.

"Resolved unanimously, That the Editor be individually responsible for the whole contents and conduct of the paper,—it being understood that the official documents of the Board, and of its Committees and their Officers shall always be entitled to admission, and have precedence of all other matter; that it shall present a monthly report or abstract of the proceedings of the Board and of its Committees; that it shall contain such portions of the correspondence of the Missionaries of the Board as the Editor may deem suitable for insertion; and, after presenting a full view of the Missionary operations of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, with such editorial and communicated articles and selected matter as shall be deemed calculated to promote them, shall furnish, as far as may be, a record of The Missionary transactions of the Church of England.

"They, at the same time, decided on the city of New York, as the place of publication, and appointed an Editor. Providential circumstances having defeated this appointment, and also a second, subsequently made, the Committee, anxious that the expectation of the Church might not be disappointed, nor the Board of Missions deprived of an auxiliary so essential to its operations, resolved, at a subsequent meeting, that until a suitable Editor could be secured, temporary provision should be made for conducting the Missionary paper. It is under these circumstances, that 'the Spirit of Missions' goes abroad among the Churches,—circumstances, it will at once be seen, of great and serious disadvantage, yet such, it is believed, as will very soon be obviated; and in the meantime will be regarded, it is believed as confidently, with Christian candour and with Christian kindness.

"Of the great advantages to be derived from such a publication, it must be superfluous to speak at length. By the present Missionary organization, it is the Church herself that undertakes the conversion of the world. Engaging in so great a work, in the name and strength of her divine and glorious Head, her appeal is made to all, who, in the sacrament of baptism, have bound themselves to be His soldiers until death, to come up to His help against the mighty. For this continual, urgent, glorious summons, the 'Spirit of Missions' will be, in her hand, as the silver trumpet of the sanctuary. By the record of what her Missionaries and other servants have accomplished

<sup>7</sup>By a subsequent resolution of the committee, the editor is authorized to make each number from 16 to 32 pages, in his discretion.

or begun; by the exhibition of the 'great things,' which the Lord shall put it into her heart to undertake for the glory of his name; by the continual presentation of the wants of perishing souls—souls, for which Jesus Christ poured out his precious blood, perishing for lack of knowledge—the Church will seek to impress her children with a proper sense of their indelible baptismal obligations, and to rouse them to a better estimate of their inestimable baptismal privileges. She will thus appeal especially to every Pastor, as her agent in this glorious work, 'for Jesus' sake;' and urge him, by a 'sound' that none shall deem 'uncertain,'—as he goes in and out among the people whom the Lord has left with him to feed, or as he gathers them with each revolving month to hear the simple story of the Missionary's toils, the Missionary's tears, the Missionary's loss of all for Christ,—to instruct their understandings in the nature, to fix upon their consciences the responsibility, and to engage their hearts in the sublime, self-sacrificing charity of the Missionary enterprize. May God, without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy, accept and aid this effort for the glory of His name! May it please Him to give it access to the hearts of men, and crown it with complete success! Imbued from on high with the spirit of truth, the spirit of love, the spirit of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, may it approve itself, in deed and in truth, the *Spirit of Missions!*"

The first issue of the *Spirit of Missions* contained a number of letters from missionaries, at home and abroad, the proceedings of the domestic committee and the foreign committee, the constitution of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, several pages of editorial notes, a list of all missionaries, domestic and foreign, and of stations where there were vacancies.<sup>8</sup> Among the foreign stations were Greece, China, Africa, Persia, and Texas—the last named being at that time an independent republic.

The *Spirit of Missions* was at first an octavo publication of 32 pages and cover, edited under the direction of the Rev. Benjamin Dorr, secretary for domestic missions, and the Rev. James Milnor, secretary and general agent of the committee for foreign missions. This was the practice for many years, the names of the editors not being given but some such phrase appearing on the title page as: "Edited for the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, by the Secretaries and General Agents of the two Committees."<sup>9</sup>

The first illustration in the *Spirit of Missions* was a drawing of the city of Athens with the mission residence and school inserted in

<sup>8</sup>*The Spirit of Missions*, January, 1836.

<sup>9</sup>This phrase taken from the title page of the *Spirit of Missions*, July, 1859.

the margin in the first issue of volume 4.<sup>10</sup> For many years, however, few pictures were published and these not very good ones. The first use of a picture on the cover seems to have been in March, 1904, on a special children's number.<sup>11</sup>

The method of financing the *Spirit of Missions* and its circulation after two years of publication is indicated by the following statement in the last issue of volume 2:<sup>12</sup>

"The importance of this paper in the Missionary operations of the Church, is admitted on all hands. It ought not to be a tax on the Missionary funds, as its intrinsic value should insure it such patronage as, at least, to defray all the expenses of its publication. This has not been the case heretofore. The first volume, for 1836, was published at an expense, above its income, of about \$750. The second volume, for 1837, in like manner, will cost beyond its income about \$300. The present number of subscribers is less than 2,000. In addition to these, about 800 copies are sent gratuitously to the parochial clergy, with the request that 'they will promote its circulation in their parishes, as the Missionary periodical of the Church.' It has been the hope of the Committee, that the parochial clergy would generally recommend it to their people, and that a very great increase of subscribers would take place, at least with the beginning of the next volume.

"As an inducement to parishes and individuals to interest themselves still more in the work, a considerable change has been made in the terms. It will hereafter be payable on the delivery of the sixth or June number, and a large discount will be made where a number of copies is taken. See advertisement on the cover of the present number. Agents or parishes desirous of availing themselves of these terms, are requested to give early notice of the number of copies they will receive.

"The third volume commences with the next number.

"The publication of the present number has been delayed a little, by the preparation of an index to this volume."

An interesting report on the cost of publication of the *Spirit of Missions* is contained in an account of the proceedings of the domestic committee in November, 1838.<sup>13</sup> This says:

"The joint committee on the *Spirit of Missions*, according to instruction, made a report of the receipts and expenditures

<sup>10</sup>The *Spirit of Missions*, January, 1839. For a good history of the Greek Mission of the Episcopal Church, see E. R. Hardy, Jr., "Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church," Vol. X (1941), pp. 183-201.

<sup>11</sup>Vide, article in the *Spirit of Missions*, January, 1936, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup>The *Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 2, 1837, pp. 373-374.

<sup>13</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 3, No. 12, December, 1838, p. 49.

on account of that paper and on the amount due from subscriptions; from which the following facts appear:

The cost of the second and third volumes is about.. .	\$4,500.46
Of which, due the two Committees, advanced by them . . . . .	\$1,584.15
And the publishers and others . . . . .	115.37
	1,699.42
There having been received from subscribers only . . . . .	2,801.04
The amount due from subscribers (in arrears) is not far from . . . . .	2,000.00"

By 1839 the circulation of the *Spirit of Missions* was about 8,000.<sup>14</sup> The committee reporting to the annual meeting of the Board of Missions urged a general effort to extend the circulation as an "important vehicle for the commission on missionary information without which it cannot be expected that a universal interest can be excited and maintained in the glorious cause" of missions. The committee further points out that while the *Spirit of Missions* has been a considerable expense to the treasury nevertheless "they have good reason to believe that its perusal has brought into the treasury many a contribution that would not otherwise have been made and that its general influence has been not a little favorable to the origination or maintenance of an interest in both branches of missionary labor"—i. e., domestic and foreign missions.

So enthusiastic for the missionary cause was the *Spirit of Missions* that it sometimes neglected to consider the humanitarian aspect of its missionary projects. A keen English observer, Bishop Wilberforce, of Oxford, in a vigorous denunciation of the comparative silence of the Episcopal Church on the subject of slavery, wrote:<sup>15</sup>

"The *Spirit of Missions*, edited with the sanction of the Church, and under the eye of the Bishop (Onderdonk) of New York, proposes to endow a mission school in Louisiana, with a plantation to be worked by slaves, who should be encouraged to redeem themselves by extra hours of labour, before day in the morning and after night in the evening; and should, when thus redeemed, be transported to Liberia, and the price paid for them laid out in purchasing in Virginia or Carolina a gang of people who may be nearly double the number of those sent away."

<sup>14</sup> *Proceedings of the Board of Missions, Fourth annual meeting, Appendix B*, p. 70. N. Y., William Osborne, 1839.

<sup>15</sup> *Wilberforce, Samuel L, lord bishop of Oxford, History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America*. N. Y., Stanford & Swords, 1840, p. 304.

Generally speaking, however, the *Spirit of Missions* has been progressive rather than obscurantist in its outlook.

The history of the *Spirit of Missions*, after 1840, may be briefly summarized, since it falls outside the time limit of this study. Maps began to be added in January, 1844, when the diocese of New York is shown. Pictures also become more frequent after this date, and indeed in the December, 1871, issue a half-tone was used, being described as "the first specimen of the new art of photo-engraving in any magazine in this country."<sup>16</sup>

Following the Civil War the title was enlarged from 1866 to 1869 to the *Spirit of Missions and of the Freedmen's Commission*. A third section was added, dealing with the work of the freedmen's commission, of which the Rev. J. Brinton Smith<sup>17</sup> was general agent.

Editors of the *Spirit of Missions* have generally been secretaries of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Board. Among them have been the Rev. Drs. A. T. Twing, Richard B. Duane, Joshua Kimber, and W. S. Langford.<sup>18</sup> In January, 1912, John W. Wood was named as editor and Dr. Hugh L. Burleson as associate. Dr. Burleson succeeded Dr. Wood as missionary editor in January, 1915, and continued until his consecration as missionary bishop of South Dakota the following year. Dr. Arthur S. Lloyd was then editor for a short time, followed by the Rev. Charles H. Betticher, Jr., from 1916 to April, 1922. From June, 1922, to November, 1923, the Rev. Robert F. Gibson was editor in charge. The Rev. Dr. G. Warfield Hobbs was editor from December, 1923, to December, 1938, and William E. Leidt for two issues, January and February, 1939. Since that time the periodical has been under the direction of the vice-president of the National

<sup>16</sup>The *Spirit of Missions*, December, 1871. The process is described in this issue as follows:

"The pictures are literally photographs in printers' ink. By a recently invented process, chemically prepared plates are exposed to the action of light under a photographic negative. The effect of the light upon the sensitized plate is to transform it into a veritable lithographic plate—the parts exposed to the action of light having an affinity for fatty or printers' ink, and the portion protected from light rejecting the ink and absorbing water. So, first, a wet roller is passed over a plate ready for the press, followed by an ink roller, and the paper then placed on the press, and run through the rollers at the rate of about sixty or seventy an hour.

"It is the most valuable invention connected with the art of photography in the last decade. The patent is owned in this country by our friend, George C. Rockwood, and his associates, 845 Broadway, New York.

<sup>17</sup>For the only known biography of the Rev. Jacob Brinton Smith (March 1, 1822—October 1, 1872), see Cecil D. Halliburton, "History of St. Augustine's College, 1867-1937," Raleigh, North Carolina, 1937, pages 1-8. Smith was one of the founders and the first principal of this Episcopal college for Negroes.

<sup>18</sup>For information concerning Twing, Duane, Kimber and Langford, see Julia C. Emery, "A Century of Endeavor," New York, 1921, with listings under each name in the index.

Council for promotion, the Rev. Dr. Charles W. Sheerin,<sup>19</sup> who had formerly been editor of the *Southern Churchman*. The editor, since February, 1939, has been Joseph E. Boyle, who was formerly the editor of the *Diocese of Chicago*. In 1939 the page size was enlarged, and the magazine became more pictorial; in 1940 its name was changed to *Forth*, but *Spirit of Missions* was retained as a sub-title.

*Forth* today is an octavo monthly magazine, officially published by the department of promotion of the National Council. It is sent free to all the clergy of the Church, and its subscription price for others is \$1.00 a year.

<sup>19</sup>Dr. Sheerin resigned as vice-president of the National Council, effective February 1, 1942, to become rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE CHURCH PRESS IN 1840

**B**Y the year 1840 religious journalism was firmly established in the American Episcopal Church. The *Church Almanac* for 1841,<sup>1</sup> published toward the end of the year 1840, listed twelve periodical publications of general circulation within the Church of the United States, eight of them being weeklies and four monthlies. These, with their editors, place of publication, yearly subscription rate, and publishers were as follows :

Names	Periods of Pub'n	Editors	Place of Publication	Price	Publisher
<i>Christian Witness</i>	W.	Rev. T. Edson	Boston, Mass.	\$2.50	James B. Dow
<i>Churchman</i>	W.	Rev. S. Seabury, D. D.	New York, N. Y.	3.00	James A. Sparks
<i>Journal of Christian Education</i>	M.	Rev. B. O. Peers	New York, N. Y.	1.00	P. E. S. School Union
<i>Children's Magazine</i>	M.	Rt. Rev. Dr. Whittingham	New York, N. Y.	.25	P. E. S. School Union
<i>Spirit of Missions</i>	Mo.	Rev. J. D. Carder and Rev. J. A. Vaughan, D. D.	New York, N. Y.	1.00	Missionary Rooms
<i>Gospel Messenger</i>	W.	Rev. J. C. Rudd, D. D.	Utica, N. Y.	2.00	J. C. Rudd
<i>Episcopal Recorder</i>	W.	Rev. S. E. Tyng, D. D.	Philadelphia, Pa.	2.50	W. Stavely
<i>Banner of the Cross</i>	W.	Dr. S. Littell	Philadelphia, Pa.	3.00	R. S. H. George
<i>Southern Churchman</i>	W.		Richmond, Va.	3.00	Joseph Gill
<i>Gospel Messenger and Southern Episcopal Register</i>	M.	Members of the P. E. Church	Charleston, S. C.	3.00	A. E. Miller
<i>Gambier Observer</i>	W.	Rev. C. Colton, D. D.	Gambier, Ohio	2.00	G. W. Myers
<i>Chronicle of the Church</i>	W.	Rev. A. B. Chapin	New Haven, Conn.	2.00	Stanley and Chapin

It will be seen from the foregoing list that these periodicals covered a wide range, both geographically and in point of interest. Of the weeklies two were published in Philadelphia and one each in Boston, New York, Utica, Richmond, Gambier, Ohio, and New Haven, Connecticut. All of them essayed to report the news of the Church as well as to publish feature articles and editorial comment.

Of the monthly periodicals, three were published in New York and one in Charleston, South Carolina. The *Journal of Christian Education*, published by the Sunday School Union, was devoted to the subject of religious education, while the *Children's Magazine*, published by the same organization, was devoted to the interests of the younger

<sup>1</sup>*Church Almanac, 1841, addenda, p. 2.*

Churchmen. The *Spirit of Missions* was, as we have seen, the monthly missionary magazine of the whole Church.

It is noteworthy that three of the periodicals, listed in 1840, are still being published in 1942—the *Churchman*, the *Southern Churchman*, and the *Spirit of Missions* (now *Forth*).

Of the other periodicals being published in 1840, only two survived for thirty years. The *Christian Witness*, which had begun in 1835, in 1841 changed its name to the *Christian Witness and Church Advocate*.<sup>2</sup> It continued publication until 1870. The *Gospel Messenger* of Utica, New York, though suspended in 1863 for a time, continued to 1871.

The *Journal of Christian Education* was a new publication in 1840, having been inaugurated only the year before. It did not continue very long, ending its career in 1842 as the *Journal of Christian Education and Family and Sunday Visitor*. In addition to the Rev. B. O. Peers, listed as editor in 1840, the Rev. B. I. Haight was associated in an editorial capacity a year later.

The most important weekly publications were the *Churchman*, the *Banner of the Cross*, and the *Chronicle of the Church*. The *Banner of the Cross* was a new publication, having been established in 1839. It continued until 1861 with the exception of a short interval of 1853 and 1854, when it was temporarily discontinued. The *Chronicle of the Church*, begun in 1837, was continued until 1845, when it was merged with the *Calendar*.

#### THE BANNER OF THE CROSS (1839-1861)

Perhaps the most influential of the Episcopal Church periodicals in the two decades preceding the Civil War was the *Banner of the Cross*, published weekly in Philadelphia under the able editorship of John Coleman.<sup>3</sup> But as it was not founded until 1839, only the first two years of its life fall within the period covered by this study.

<sup>2</sup>*Of this change the Churchman wrote: "Christian Witness and Church Advocate. Our old friend, the Christian Witness, published at Boston, came to us this week with the above addition to its former name, and also announcing that its future editors were to be the Rev. Dr. Stone, the Rev. Thomas M. Clark, and the Rev. John Woart. We rejoice to know that these brethren have consented to devote a portion of their time to the promotion of the cause of Christ through the important medium of the periodical press. We would hail them as fellow labourers with us, and having the same identical object in view with ourselves. May great success attend their efforts, and the cause, which we mutually love, prosper and prevail."*

<sup>3</sup>*The set of this periodical in the library of the General Theological Seminary is the gift of the Rev. John Coleman, son of the editor, and was formerly in the library of Bishop Leighton Coleman, of Delaware.*

The *Banner of the Cross* was the successor to the *Protestant Episcopalian*—that remarkable monthly periodical that terminated its existence with a small surplus.<sup>4</sup> In the prospectus published in the first issue,<sup>5</sup> the new publication was thus introduced:

“Many of the subscribers to the *Protestant Episcopalian*, having long desired a change in the form of that periodical, the close of the year which has just elapsed, was selected as a suitable opportunity for complying with their wishes. But while the subject was yet under consideration, proposals for a new paper were issued from the Missionary Press at Burlington, New Jersey, and it has been deemed advisable, when there was such a general agreement in opinion, to unite the two under the title of

*THE BANNER OF THE CROSS;*

thus securing to the present publication the advantage which they respectively possessed, and giving to it a broader foundation, and a more extensive circulation than they would separately have had. The *Episcopalian* relinquished the appellation which it has so long borne, but it receives in turn a large accession to its strength; it passes also into other hands, and instead of being conducted as hitherto by an association of clergymen, will hereafter be under the direction of a single individual. But though so many changes have been made some may perhaps fail to recognize an old acquaintance, it is hoped that it will continue to preserve the moderate, peaceful, and Christian character which it has always sustained.

“The present Editor is painfully conscious of possessing at least an ordinary share of the infirmities of human nature; he wants experience, and he may want ability adequately to discharge the duties of an office which he accepted with unaffected diffidence, but he does not want the earnest desire to make the *Banner of the Cross* while under his management, an exception to a charge so discreditable. A layman himself,<sup>6</sup> it will be his aim to provide for those of his own Order, a Paper—plain, practical, and devotional—such as they have long required; while the assistance which has been promised, will render it no less valuable to the clergy.”

The *Banner of the Cross* began with a wealth of official sponsorship. As noted in the quotation above, a weekly paper projected for the diocese of New Jersey, to replace the suspended *Missionary*, was

<sup>4</sup>See above, p. 261.

<sup>5</sup>*Banner of the Cross*, January 5, 1839.

<sup>6</sup>This reference is difficult to understand, as the John Coleman who is listed as editor appears to have been the one ordained in 1834, according to Burgess' list of deacons.

abandoned in favor of the Philadelphia paper. Thus the new publication contained official commendation by Bishop George Washington Doane of New Jersey as well as by Bishop H. U. Onderdonk of Pennsylvania.<sup>7</sup> In addition, Bishop L. S. Ives of North Carolina also commended the new publication to his own diocese.

The *Banner* was a folio publication, its earlier issues consisting of eight pages. The subscription price was \$2.50 a year, "payable in advance or before the first of June;" thereafter \$3.00. Advertisements were accepted, if "not inconsistent with the character of the paper as a periodical of the Church," at "one dollar a square for the first, and fifty cents for each subsequent insertion." The publisher was George W. Donahue, 22 South Fourth St., Philadelphia, and the paper was printed by King and Baird at 9 George Street.<sup>8</sup> A "juvenile department"—rather precocious by modern standards—was a feature from the outset.

During the first two years of its publication the *Banner of the Cross* gained a substantial following in all parts of the Church. Orthodox in its theology, it was comprehensive in its interests and moderate and non-controversial in its editorial policy. Every topic of current religious interest was reflected in its columns, in the light of its professed devotion to "Gospel truth, and primitive ecclesiastical order." Indeed, after two years of publication the editor wrote that the only complaint that had reached his ear was that the paper was rather too "solid"—but this, he observed, was "an error . . . much more venial than its opposite would have been."

The *Banner of the Cross* continued until 1861, except for a short period of suspension in 1853, during which time subscribers received another periodical.

<sup>7</sup>The Rev. Benjamin D. Winslow, of Burlington, N. J., who had announced the New Jersey venture, also had a letter of endorsement in the first issue of the *Banner of the Cross*.

<sup>8</sup>With the issue of June 27, 1840, the publisher became R. S. H. George, who maintained a bookstore at 26 South Fifth Street. Mr. Donahue's name was carried as "agent" for a few more issues, and then was dropped.

## CHAPTER X

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

THE question naturally arises, Why did three of these periodicals—the *Churchman*, the *Southern Churchman*, and the *Spirit of Missions*—continue for a century after their establishment when all previous publications of the Episcopal Church, more than 40 in number, had had a relatively short life?

The causes for the suspension, merging, or death of the various earlier periodicals may be grouped into six principal categories as follows:

1. *Lack of finances.* Probably this reason was a contributing factor in the suspension or death of virtually all of the periodicals, a notable exception, however, being the *Protestant Episcopalian*, which ended its life with a surplus of \$100.00. The first notable example of suspension because of financial difficulties is the *Churchman's Magazine* which reported itself in the hands of its printers as early as 1805. The *Gospel Advocate*, which came to an end in 1834, is another notable example of demise for this reason.

2. *Too many editors.* Almost invariably when a periodical was managed by a board of editors rather than by a single editor it ran into trouble sooner or later.<sup>1</sup> Dr. William Smith in his letter to Dr. Hobart gave this as one of the principal reasons for the weakness of the *Churchman's Magazine* in 1805. It was also largely responsible for the later difficulties of this periodical after its return to Connecticut in 1821. Another notable suspension for this reason was that of the *Church Register* in 1829.

3. *War conditions.* During the War of 1812 and again during the Civil War, the mortality among Church periodicals was particularly high. In some instances war conditions were definitely cited as the reason for suspension or death and in other cases this may be assumed. Thus in 1815 the *Churchman's Magazine* was suspended, as a year earlier the *Quarterly Theological Magazine* had come to an end, giving

<sup>1</sup>It will be interesting to see whether this "jinx" can be overcome today by the *Witness*, which announced in the fall of 1941 that it would henceforth be run by "the new technique of group editing."

as its reason the difficulty of obtaining foreign periodicals containing the news of Europe. Similarly in 1863 the *Gospel Messenger* of Utica was discontinued because of war conditions and other periodicals were also discontinued or suspended, including even the *Churchman* and the *Southern Churchman*.

4. *Death or disability of editor.* Religious journalism in the 19th century was largely a matter of personalities and the death or the disability of the editor was frequently a cause of suspension or discontinuance. This was true, for example, in the case of the *Christian Register* after the deposition of Dr. How in 1827, the *Christian Journal* after the death of Bishop Hobart in 1830, and the *Churchman's Magazine* after the death of Dr. Bronson in 1826. A similar reason was probably largely responsible for the discontinuance of the *Episcopal Recorder* in 1865 following the loss of its editor, Dr. George A. Smith.

5. *Too much controversy.* Some of the periodicals got so involved in controversy that they lost the confidence of their readers. This was apparently a major cause in the discontinuance of the *Watchman* in 1819, and was doubtless a contributing factor in other cases where it cannot easily be traced.

6. *Lack of reader support.* Some of the periodicals seem to have failed because they did not manage to arouse the interest of any particular class of readers. Thus, for example, the *Sunday Visitant* was intended to be a publication for young people but it was too old for this clientele and too juvenile for adults. Doubtless this was a considerable factor in leading to its discontinuance in 1819. Other periodicals that gave lack of reader support as a reason for discontinuing or merging with other periodicals were the *Episcopal Magazine* in 1821, the *Banner of the Church* in 1832, and the *Episcopal Watchman* in 1833.

The three periodicals that have survived from the period under consideration until the present day are the *Churchman*, the *Southern Churchman*, and the *Spirit of Missions*. It may be asked, Why have these been successful in maintaining their existence and influence when their contemporaries failed?

The answer is not the same in all three cases, for the *Spirit of Missions* differed from the other two in that it was an official publication, sponsored and financed by the Church as a whole through its missionary funds. Thus it was unnecessary for the *Spirit of Missions* to be self-supporting, depending for its revenue either upon its subscribers or its advertisers. Despite the official character of the *Spirit of Missions* it has always been an interesting publication, containing original communications from missionaries in all parts of the world where the Episcopal Church is at work. To the historian, the earlier years of the *Spirit*

of *Missions* (especially the first fifty) are more valuable than the later ones, for before the Civil War the reports from missionaries were published substantially as received with very little editing or abridgment. Since that time they have been more numerous and a selection has had to be made, so that the picture of the missionary work of the Church is not as complete as in the earlier issues.

In the case of the *Churchman*, the able editorship of Dr. Samuel Seabury, who, as we have seen, guided its destiny from 1833 to 1849, was a substantial factor in giving this publication permanence. Moreover, its ardent espousal of the cause of the Oxford Movement, after 1833, placed the *Churchman* in the main stream of that great spiritual revival which swept the whole Church during the middle of the 19th century. Today, ably edited by Dr. Guy Emery Shipley, it is the organ of a different tradition, which has come to be known as liberal evangelicalism.

The *Southern Churchman*, though small in circulation, holds an especially venerable position in the conservative section in which its influence is strongest.

The various other periodicals, both those that preceded the three mentioned and others that started up from time to time and continued for five, ten, or even twenty years, fell eventually on the rock of lack of support, and consequently lack of financial means, coupled with the other factors mentioned.

Yet the papers that failed were not without their significance in the history of the Church and of religious journalism. Each of them was started to meet a need—the need of information and editorial guidance. Each of them contributed in its own way to the meeting of this need. As such they made their contribution to the Church life of the day and to the historical records of the Church.

The periodicals that did not succeed also laid a foundation for those that later did succeed in that the latter could and did profit by the errors of the former. One cannot, therefore, dismiss these earlier unsuccessful periodicals as of no importance. It is on the failures of the past that the successes of the present and of the future are built. This is no less true of religious journalism than of any other aspect of life.

Religious journalism is a specialized profession. One thing that the failure of many of the early periodicals has shown is that a successful Church paper cannot be produced in the spare time of a busy clergyman or layman whose main interests lie elsewhere. The periodicals that were successful succeeded not because of any subsidy (though that was a factor in the *Spirit of Missions*), nor because the editors

of those periodicals were essentially abler men than the editors of the periodicals that failed, but because for the most part the editors of the successful papers gave the majority of their time to the development and improvement of the periodicals for which they were responsible.

The Episcopal Church has never seen fit to endow its periodical publications with the exception of the one official missionary magazine, *Forth*, formerly the *Spirit of Missions*, and, to some extent, the *Historical Magazine*. Episcopal Church periodicals have therefore had to stand or fall on their own merits as best they could. If this has resulted in a very high mortality rate among Episcopal Church papers it has had a compensating value in that those that have survived have done so largely because of their inherent merit and reader appeal. This, it seems to the writer, is a sounder basis for religious journalism and a better guarantee of an independent Church press than an official subsidy could possibly be—though the Church might at least give official recognition and assistance to its press through proper institutional advertising.

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*Banner of the Cross*, Philadelphia: 1839-1861, vols. 1-22. Discontinued 1853, resumed 1854, but ceased 1861.

*Calendar*, Hartford: 1845-1865, vols. 1-21.

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*Christian Register and Moral and Theological Review*, New York: July 1816 to January 1817.

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*Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register*, Philadelphia: 1830-1837, vols. 1-4, 8.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina: A Study in Americanization.* By Frank J. Klingberg, Ph. D., professor of History, University of California at Los Angeles. The Associated Publishers, Washington, D. C., 1941. (9 in., pp. xii., 180.)

The factor of the Negro in colonial America has been largely overlooked by historians. Yet he is entitled to considerable recognition. He arrived early, and in such numbers as to equal and, in some cases, to exceed the white population. His part in the building of America needs to be brought to light. Colonial South Carolina offers an excellent field for the study of the relationship of Negro and white man; and Doctor Klingberg has given us just the sort of analysis and investigation that we desire.

During the eighteenth century in that province a friendly relationship was worked out through the efforts of Christian leaders, and the Negro in time became Christian. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts based its program on the fundamental assumption that "the Negro's future would be identified with the white man's future." From 1702, when the Society's missionaries first entered South Carolina, they recorded their progress in their semi-annual reports. They attended to the educational as well as to the Christianization program; they made it possible for the Negro to be schooled in the Christian religion, and subsequently to have their own churches, clergy, schools, and institutions. In order to teach the essentials of Christian doctrine, the missionaries used sermons, oral instruction, and conversations, and they taught reading and writing. Their zealous efforts were opposed by most of the planters, who held that it was useless and unnecessary to teach the Negroes; they feared lest the Negroes would become lazy and proud, and would regard themselves as the white men's equals. Doctor Klingberg brings out these facts clearly in his remarkable book.

The first S. P. G. missionary to South Carolina, the Reverend Samuel Thomas, started the religious instruction of the Negro. He arrived in 1702 and settled in the Cooper River and Goose Creek region. He was the Negro's champion in rectifying abuses; and he taught twenty of the race to read. When he died in 1706, he had already laid a foundation for his successors. He was followed by Doctor Francis LeJau, one of the really great missionaries of Anglican colonial history. LeJau worked assiduously for the uplift of the Negro; and his industry was combined with discretion, tact, and calm judgment. He postponed baptism until he felt that the Negro was sufficiently prepared for the same. It was at his suggestion that a schoolmaster, Mr. Benjamin Dennis, was sent to the Goose Creek region; Mr. Dennis taught Negroes and Indians as well as white children.

The program of Negro education grew in other parishes. (Those clustered along the Atlantic coastline approximately a hundred miles in each direction from Charles Town determined the population as well as the geographic centre of early South Carolina.) The Reverend Robert Maule (St. John's) wrote in 1710 of

the arguments he was having with the planters while seeking to induce them to consent to the baptism of their Negroes. The planters were afraid that baptism would automatically result in emancipation. Mr. Maule was evidently successful on the whole in his efforts. The Reverend Thomas Hasell (St. Thomas'), in his South Carolina ministry of thirty-eight years, persevered in his labours among the Negroes. Here it should be noted that there were some notable examples of co-operation on the part of the masters of slaves; some of them were seriously concerned over the spiritual uplift of their Negro dependents. Again, says Doctor Klingberg, "far too little . . . has been brought to light concerning the part played by the mistress of the plantation. The adverse criticism at a later time of a Fanny Kemble, a Harriet Martineau, or other reformers did not usually take cognizance of some sound achievements in Negro training and education contributed by the mistress in fulfilling her part of the plantation scheme." The mistress of the plantation encouraged the Negroes to read their Bibles; she taught them cooking, sewing, the care of the sick; she trained the Negroes in general.

The Reverend Richard Ludlam (Goose Creek) took much care in instructing a large number of Negroes; he was much interested in education. The Reverend Brian Hunt (St. John's) sought to have a law passed, compelling every planter with ten slaves to instruct at least one in the Bible and catechism, so that this one might instruct the others. A fine work was done by the Reverend Francis Varnod (St. George's), the Reverend William Guy (St. Andrew's), the Reverend Lewis Jones (St. Helen's), and others. Notwithstanding the indifference and opposition of influential parishioners, these missionaries persisted in their efforts towards Negro enlightenment. In the inland parishes, as they developed, the clergymen were without exception aware of their obligation to the Negro race.

Doctor Klingberg has availed himself of the wonderful resources of the Journals of the S. P. G. and the letters written by the Society's missionaries. These afford most interesting insights into Negro primitive life. According to one writer, the negroes "have a notion of God and of a Devil, and dismal apprehensions of apparitions; of a God that disposes absolutely to all things . . . and a Devil . . . who leads them to do mischief and betrays them, whereby they are found out by their masters and punished."

The Charles Town Negro School, conceived and fostered by the Reverend Doctor Alexander Garden, offered a unique contribution to Negro education. The idea grew and took shape in the mind of that able man, and it was brought into shape after much foresight and systematic planning. The canny Scotsman was the ablest and most aggressive of all the colonial commissioners, and a man of hard, practical sense rather than a visionary. The school was opened in September, 1743, with several pupils; and it proved an immediate success. In about a month, there were some thirty children; in a year the number had doubled. A capable and conscientious teacher was found in the negro boy Harry, a product of the school. The little academy lasted about a dozen years after Doctor Garden's death; and it might have continued under normal circumstances. An epidemic of small-pox and the waging of warfare with the Cherokee Indians gave insecurity to the province; and in 1764, the financial assistance of the S. P. G. was curtailed. Nevertheless, the good work begun during the life of that school left traces which were noted nearly a century afterwards.

The Negro, unlike the Indian and all immigrant groups, had been brought forcibly to his new environment; therefore, he was without normal contact with the culture of his ancestors. This isolation predisposed him for adaptation to

the white man's civilization. Separated from his African tribes, he could not, under slavery and in a white community, work out a completely distinct African culture, nor could he revert to African mores, of which he was rapidly losing knowledge. "He learned readily, eagerly came to Church in large numbers, and so impressed his ability upon the missionaries that, as early as 1713, they were ready for legislative action towards compulsory education."

The writer of this review, though southern-born and descended from unmixed lines of southern ancestry, holds no brief for slavery as an institution; he rejoices that the Negro is a free man, not only because his emancipation has contributed to the Negro's advancement and independence but also because it has served to develop more self-reliant and manly qualities among the white men. Still he feels that slavery was far from being an unmitigated evil; indeed he thinks that it was a factor of tremendous educational importance in the evolution of the American Negro, and that it served a useful purpose. Thereby the Negro was brought into contact with the white man's civilization; he was introduced to the domestic and sanitary standards of well regulated and cultured families; he learned to cook and to sew, he observed the amenities of polite society, he imbibed the principles of law and order, and he received his initiation into Christianity. What the European had acquired through more than a thousand years of painful travail, in the field of law, ethics, and religion, was accessible to the Negro by indoctrination and imitation. Fetishes, charms, tom-toms, and the host of primitive superstitions were exchanged for rational methods of medication and self-protection. Doctor Klingberg realizes the truth of these observations, and gives the white man credit for sincerity and a real humanitarian spirit in those days of tension and adjustment.

Churchmen may take pride in the idealistic and altruistic endeavours of the great Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the conscientious, unselfish missionaries who were sent to the American colonies. Not the least of their contributions was the implanting of Christian principles in the Negro slaves—principles that have borne increasing fruit to the present time. And churchmen may take further satisfaction in the fact that scholars like Doctor Klingberg recognise the rich and noble contribution which the Anglican Church has made to the shaping of American institutions.

EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON.

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*Morning of America.* By Frank J. Klingberg. New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1941. Pp. 479. \$3.

Ecclesiastical historians often have reason to fault secular historians for neglecting the influence of religion in the historical processes which they attempt to expound. The former ought not to fall into the like error of ignoring the political, constitutional, military, social and economic forces which form the background of Church history. No Church never lived in a vacuum and Church history was not made in one.

For students of American Church history this book is the best single volume of which we have knowledge for the period in American history, 1760-1830. It was recently chosen out of 120 entries by a jury of distinguished educators for the Commonwealth Club of California Silver Medal. All phases of American

life, including its English roots, are well considered, and the influence of religion is not overlooked.

Beginning with the "Colonial Attachment to England" and "A Bird's-Eye View of the Empire of George III," we are given many imitable pen portraits of the great Englishmen of the 18th century; most unusual in a volume of this kind is that of "Diamond" (Thomas) Pitt, the grandfather of William Pitt the Elder and great-grandfather of William Pitt the Younger. Eight pages in this one chapter alone are devoted to John Wesley and the religious revival on both sides of the Atlantic. But we are also enlightened concerning the agricultural renaissance and the industrial revolution in England and their effects upon the colonies.

Three chapters—"The New British Colonial Policy," "Active Resistance and Repression," "From Resistance to Independence,"—trace the events and expound the causes leading to war. Five chapters deal with the War of Independence in all its phases. The author does not fall into the error of some historians and most pacifists, namely, that all wars are unimportant and none ever settled anything. One illustration will have to suffice to show the thoroughness of treatment of this section of the book. The author fully recognizes the decisive edge which the French fleet under De Grasse gave Washington over Cornwallis at Yorktown, but we cannot recall another one-volume history which explains the extraordinary absence of the British fleet at this critical juncture. Admiral Rodney had gone home with captured treasure to be sure of securing his share of the prize money.

<sup>1</sup> We are inclined to think that Bernhard Knollenberg's *Washington and the Revolution: A Reappraisal* (New York, Macmillan, 1940), will modify some details of Professor Klingberg's estimate of Washington, although not his main outline.

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Chapters XI and XII deal with "The Significance of the American Revolution" and the "Social Results" thereof. Both are excellent and repay careful study.

In chapter XIII, "Reorganization of the Government," the leading Fathers of the Constitution are vividly sketched. The whole group is thus summarized:

"Altogether the group of 55 men were representative of the best talent of the country; skilled lawyers, planters, and business men united in drawing up a plan for a practical and powerful government. Most of them had been prominent in the Revolution, seven were signers of the Declaration of Independence; three-fourths of them had served in Congress . . . ; all of them had a rich experience in government, were men of note in their own communities, and were familiar with the needs and opinions of the people." (Page 285)

The results of their work he thus describes:

"The Constitution is brief, simple, and clear. Drawn up to meet the experienced needs of the time, it does not provide for all the emergencies of government. It was an effort to solve the problems that had confronted such men as Washington, Madison, and Robert Morris. Its great merit lies in its success in securing the supremacy of the new Federal Government without destroying the state governments. It cre-

ated what Washington had so long felt indispensable, 'a power which will pervade the whole Union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the State governments extend over the several States.'

What life at the turn of the 19th century was actually like is well described in the chapter on "Travel, Marketing and Living Conditions." Chapters XV to XX carry the story of the new nation from Washington through John Quincy Adams. But with the election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency:

"Ended was the morning of America. But the new American shape was clearly visible. The earlier caste society had been replaced by robust equalitarianism. The selective immigrations from Europe and the influences of the frontier had produced a separate and distinct culture, unique among the nations of the world in its recognition of the dignity and rights of the common man. The equalitarianism of the Jacksonian era had been envisioned by Bishop Jonathan Shipley in his epochal sermon of 1773, when he said, 'they (the Americans) may be led by reason and experiment to that old simplicity which was first pointed out by nature.'

"A new one-class society had developed in the broad reaches of a vast continent. No longer could it be said that a perfect piece of Old England was floated across the Atlantic. For the two nations, the one by land, the other by sea, were to attain separate destinies, finding in a common background a harmony of outlook and institutions, but differing as fundamentally in their adaptations as 'Old Hickory' differed from Queen Victoria. Walking to the White House in the freedom and simplicity that was to mark much of American life for the rest of the century, Jackson was to set the stage for the second chapter of our history. The long shadow of the 'great Democrat' marked the sharp sense of change, as if centuries had split the decade."

We think one of the most pregnant paragraphs in the book is in the Introduction, pp. xi-xii :

"The recent fashion of removing American history from the schools and of substituting in place of it a hodgepodge of current social problems has taken away from a younger generation the fundamental sense of time sequence, and therefore of knowledge of a rich heritage and of the slow, solid movement of history from age to age. Thus robbed completely of his past, the modern youth would not have even the tribal traditions of the savage. A time dimension is necessary for any full understanding of one's own age. The radio and the film, valuable in their own ways, can not fill the gap. The film, for the purposes of dramatization, magnifies both characters and incidents and therefore cannot take the place of the truthful, steady portrayal of history. Radio, too, must be episodic and neither medium can undertake the responsibility of teaching history in full continuous correct perspective."

This counsel, with which we are in hearty agreement, is directly applicable to American churchmen and the study of our Church's history. The shabby, shallow treatment which the history of the American Episcopal Church receives in most of our theological seminaries, has produced a generation of clergy with an inferiority complex in so far as their attitude towards the American Church is concerned. If they really understood the "time sequence" and grasped the "full continuous correct perspective", they would understand the handicaps which the Episcopal Church has had to overcome and for many of which it was not responsible. They would perceive more clearly the processes by which the Church has passed not merely from weakness to comparative strength, but from

a condition "approaching annihilation", as Bishop White described it, and would have a proper pride in that accomplishment. When the clergy are ignorant of all this, how can we expect the rank and file of the laity to be otherwise?

Professor Klingberg has proved that American history in its time sequence and with correct perspective can be so written as to be more fascinating than many novels. We believe that eventually the same can be done for American Church history.

WALTER H. STOWE.

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*The Christian Approach to the Moslem*, by the Rev. James Thayer Addison, D. D. New York. Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. 365. \$3.75.

It is no simple matter to summarize in a single volume the story of Christian missionary work among Moslems. The field is enormous. The Moslem world includes many countries with widely differing conditions. The history of it spans a period of twelve centuries. It would take someone of Dr. Addison's scholarship and breadth of vision to draw an adequate picture.

In the Preface the author warns us "rather because of the limitations of space than through neglect of its importance, I have omitted the work of the Roman Catholic Church since 1800". The result is a distinctly Protestant flavor in all except two chapters, one on Ramon Lull, that extraordinary missionary of the thirteenth century, and the other on "The Jesuits at the Mughal Court" in India in the sixteenth century. The historical material is concise, comprehensive and always interesting.

In all the whole realm of missionary enterprise the Moslem world offers the toughest problem. There are certain general reasons to account for this supplemented by special considerations in each country. For many centuries the only contact between Christians and Moslems was one of persistent hostility. Moslem expansion was achieved largely by conquest of Christian countries. In return the Christians launched crusades for the recovery of the Holy Land. It is hard to build a religious friendship on such a basis of inherited hatreds from both sides. Unlike other non-Christian religions Islam has a simple, clear-cut, definite creed which can stand on its own feet. In most Moslem countries Islam not only constitutes the recognized religion of the land but it also shapes the laws and determines the social structure. People are registered according to their religious faith. Usually provision is made for change of registration if a person is converted to Mohammedanism but no Moslem is permitted a similar change to Christian registration. The result is that a convert to Christianity practically loses his citizenship—he can hold no public office, he loses his right of inheritance, his opportunity to make a living is sharply restricted and he suffers an overpowering weight of social ostracism. The severity of these conditions varies in different lands. In the not far distant past it was a capital offense in some countries for a Moslem to embrace Christianity. Up to the present moment Afghanistan rigidly forbids the entrance of any Christian missionary within its borders. In countries where the Arabic influence is dominant (such as Egypt, Syria, Arabia) missionaries are tolerated but quite unwelcome. In northern India the situation is much easier and among the Malays of the East Indies the restraints on missionary work are very light.

The result is that Christian progress has made considerable advance in the East Indies, has something to its credit in north India but has accomplished little with the Moslems elsewhere.

This is not to say that Protestant missionary efforts have produced no results in lands such as Egypt, Turkey, Iraq, Syria and others. Native churches have been organized which in some instances are strong enough to be practically autonomous. But they have been recruited from the resident Christian minorities—not from the Moslems. Dr. Addison tells in some detail how the Protestants have weaned away Armenian Christians from their ancestral Church or Coptic Christians from the Church of their fathers in order to establish rival evangelical bodies. He justifies this policy on the grounds that it is an indirect approach to the Moslems and that it removes a stigma from the Christian cause due to the sorry decadence of the native Christian Churches. "As representing a different type of Christianity more worthy of Moslem respect, these Protestants might be said to aid the approach to Islam; but they felt themselves in no position to evangelize Moslems and seldom if ever attempted it" (p. 124). Thus approval is given to what he concedes to be the "inroads of evangelical Christianity" among the eastern Christians. It is to be regretted that no mitigating circumstances are found for the low estate of these oriental Churches which have steadfastly clung to their faith through centuries of persecution and terrorism visited upon them by their Moslem conquerors. No word of approval is spoken for the contrary policy of the Anglican communion which has preferred to spend its energies in building up the oriental Churches from within rather than in proselytizing their people from without. It would seem that we in the United States ought by this time to have outgrown the old puritan thesis that the only pure Christianity is that of western Protestantism to which all other Christians should be soundly converted.

The concluding chapters of the book contain some illuminating observations on changing methods of appealing to Moslem people. A century ago the missionary effort centered around protracted controversies with Moslem teachers. Today it is generally conceded that such a method is fruitless. Schools and hospitals are still excellent points of contact but the real work of evangelization is grounded more and more on the gentle pressure of Christian lives lived by Christian disciples without argument or apology.

Wisely Dr. Addison makes it clear that his work carries only up to the outbreak of the present war in 1939. The disruptive effects of the war on Moslem countries will create radically different situations everywhere when peace finally comes. There will be lost ground to be made up but there will also be many new doors opened.

FRANK E. WILSON,  
Bishop of Eau Clare.

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*The History of Quakerism* by Elbert Russell. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. 586.

The dean emeritus of the Divinity School and professor of Biblical Interpretation, Duke University, has given us a compact and most interesting history of the Society of Friends. It falls into three divisions: 1. The Rise of the Society, 1647-1691; 2. The Age of Quietism, 1691-1827; and, 3. The

Modern Revival and Reconstruction, 1827-1941. Under these heads he has woven the story of the rise of Quakerism in England; and its spread to the United States, together with its internal divisions. He brings out very clearly the links of the Quakers with important periods in American History such as the abolition of slavery and lays proper emphasis on their contribution to education by the establishment of schools and colleges in the United States. The vivid pen pictures of such men as George Fox, William Penn, Joseph John Gurney, and that stormy petrel, George Keith, add much to the interest of the narrative. A valuable feature is the linking of the Quaker movement and its development with modern religious life and thought and the fact that it has been profoundly influenced by the evangelical movement in the Church of England, as well as by the early Methodist revival. Numerically, the Quakers are small, but no one can read this book without realizing what a large contribution they have made to the cause of religion.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

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*Walter Rauschenbusch*, by the Rev. Dr. Dores R. Sharpe. Macmillan. \$2.75.

This timely volume gives a compelling portrayal of one of the most challenging figures in American religious life. The former secretary of Walter Rauschenbusch has rendered a distinctive service in effectively presenting to the troubled spirit of to-day, the life and work of one of the company of major prophets.

Rauschenbusch began his ministry in New York City with a splendid intellectual equipment dedicated to the service of human souls. In the needy area in which he laboured he soon saw, however, that he could not stop with individuals. Daily he had to face the effects of forces which were beyond the control of the individual.

“Beneath the glitter” of city life he came to know the sorrow and the pain of the common man. He knew the tragedy of the “little bullet-headed tailor” compelled to work on a Saturday night while his little girl “Minnie” lay dying just three blocks away. He knew because he had been there. So completely did he enter into the lives of his people that no detail of their struggle escaped his attention. He could tell the number of times a baby carriage must be lifted over curbs by a mother seeking the nearest patch of green grass for her child. He knew because he had counted them.

The experience of these early years forced this sensitive man to restudy his Bible and to rethink his theology. He discovered afresh the fundamental concern of the prophets for God’s justice in the affairs of men. Henceforth with the conviction and the singlemindedness of the prophets, he strove against social injustice and complacency. Little wonder it is that when this obscure clergyman spoke of what he had seen and experienced the consciences of men and women were pricked.

After ten years in “Hell’s Kitchen” his reputation was established as an independent thinker, a friend of the poor and a champion of social justice.

Rauschenbusch never lost sight of the fact that “an adequate social reform must spring from and be rooted in religion”. But he also contended that no religion was complete until it was dedicated to the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth.

One of the most suggestive chapters of this biography deals with the efforts of Rauschenbusch and several kindred spirits to come to a better understanding of the idea of the Kingdom. Their effort resulted in the establishment of the "Brotherhood of the Kingdom" which endeavored to "wed Christianity and the Social Movement". For two decades it opposed both "unsocial Christians and unchristian socialists".

Rauschenbusch felt that the individualistic conception of personal salvation had pushed out of sight the collective conception of the Kingdom of God on earth, hence Christians had been content with a low plane of life here in the hope of a better life in the future. He readily agreed with the students of religion that when Judah was carried into exile, the shift in religious emphasis from a national basis to an individual one, was a notable achievement. However, he did not feel, as many did, that the shift was all gain. Much that was of value in the social emphasis of the past was lost in the pressure of circumstance. It is true that the national hope of Judah was never fully surrendered but that its continuance in apocalyptic schemes was destined to influence subsequent Christian thought more than the teaching of the prophets. Rauschenbusch felt that the continuance of our civilization depended upon a restoration of the prophetic emphasis and a revival of social religion.

After thirteen years in New York, Rauschenbusch moved to Rochester Theological Seminary where through his teaching and writing he exercised the most formative influence of any man on American religious thought. Here it was that he published the harvest of his thought and faith in the volumes, "Christianity and the Social Crisis", "Christianizing the Social Order" and "A Theology for the Social Gospel". Following his lead the churches have made their social pronouncements.

He was prophetic not only in that he spoke for God against the evils of his day, but also in the more popular sense that he foretold the dangers ahead and what must be done to avert them. His biographer will be amply repaid for his effort if the readers of this volume are led to study the insights of this rare soul.

WILLIAM MCDONALD SHARP.

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*The Episcopal Church in Haddam* by Nelson R. Burr, Ph. D. Hartford: The Church Missions Publishing Co. 1942. Pp. 32.

About 1662 Haddam was founded by a group of English settlers and named after the parishes of Much Haddam and Little Haddam, in the old country from whence they came. The first church was puritan, and the first Episcopal service was conducted by the Rev. Ebenezer Punderson in 1750. In 1774 a census showed nearly 10,000 Episcopalians in the colony of Connecticut. On April 17, 1843, a parish was organized under the name of "The Church of the Holy Trinity in Haddam". The story of its subsequent development is admirably told by Dr. Burr, who is now on the staff of the Library of Congress. He gives special attention to the work of the Rev. William Clark Knowles who served for nearly seventy years as lay reader and rector. A chapel was opened on May 25, 1873, and consecrated by Bishop Williams on November 10, 1877. This pamphlet is an illustration of what can be done in preserving for posterity the history of our smaller parishes. The multiplication of such material is invaluable as a contribution to the larger history of the Church.

*The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland.* 1942. Pp. 34.

This publication is issued in connection with the celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the establishment of the Thirty Original Parishes in the Province of Maryland in 1692. After describing the Act of 1692 which divided Maryland into thirty parishes, and the election and consecration of Bishop Thomas John Claggett in 1792, it gives a brief description of the original parishes with excellent photographs. It is a permanent contribution to a most interesting period in Church history.

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#### CORRECTION.

San Francisco, California, July 6, 1942.

The Editor of The Historical Magazine,  
Garrison, New York.

My dear Mr. Editor:

I desire to call attention to an inaccurate statement in my article about Bishop Kip. Dr. Kip was rector not of St. Peter's but of St. Paul's, Albany, before he was made bishop. The mistake in the Historical Magazine was due to an original mistake in the Reverend D. O. Kelley's History of the Diocese of California. I took it uncritically from that source and although Bishop Kip more than once speaks of St. Paul's, I failed to note the inaccuracy. I regret that a mistake of this kind should appear in the Magazine and apologize to the editors and the Magazine's constituency.

Yours faithfully,

EDWARD L. PARSONS.

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## EDITORIAL NOTE

**T**HIS issue marks the close of the eleventh annual volume of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. It was small in its beginnings, the first volume having but 234 pages. The four numbers of 1942 contain over 400. It has steadily grown in interest and value. Many articles of extraordinary historical interest have been published. It is not only rich in biography, but its numerous biographical notes are invaluable for research students, as is also its bibliography, and its articles on the beginnings of the Church in dioceses, missionary districts and the foreign field. Reviews by historical experts have become a feature. A professor of history in one of the leading universities in the United States writes to say that he uses the MAGAZINE in his class work, and it is given a place on the open shelves of the Yale University library.

If it should have the good fortune to survive these days so difficult for all publications, it will become more and more the outstanding source of the history of the American Episcopal Church, and is already so regarded in England.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

## IMMIGRATION AND THE GROWTH OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

*By Walter Herbert Stowe.*

**O**N few subjects has there been more heat and less light than on that concerning the growth of the American Episcopal Church, especially during the last forty years. The rate of its growth from 1900 to 1930 was the lowest within the last century. In endeavoring to explain this state of affairs different individuals have ridden their differing hobbies. Laymen have advanced their pet theory that the clergy did not visit enough. One clergyman has stated in print that the Church's lack of college chaplains was the chief reason.

There is, to be sure, no single reason. A true explanation involves many factors: the growth of materialism; the emphasis on science as the whole of reality; the widespread belief in the inevitability of progress; the warfare of pseudo-science with pseudo-theology; the discrediting of the Bible as an infallible oracle; the intensive pursuit of pleasure accompanied by a phenomenal increase in the number of social distractions such as the automobile, the movies, the radio, with the resultant decline of the Church as the people's chief social center; the lessening of the clergy's intellectual leadership due to the emphasis on activism and to the unprecedented increase in the number of the learned professions, illustrated by the rapid growth of education, the multiple branches of engineering, medicine and research; World War I with its disruption of normal parish life and a decrease in confirmations,<sup>1</sup> followed by a dangerous lowering of the moral tone of the body politic lasting well into the Twenties; the rapid movement of people, especially the young and the employees of large corporations, from one part of the country to another, who thus became ecclesiastically foot-free and were often lost to the Church in the process.

We venture to prophesy that the perspective of time will show that the Episcopal Church has made, on the whole, a fairly creditable ad-

<sup>1</sup>Confirmations were as follows:

1915....61,284	1918....42,766	1921....61,881
1916....60,821	1919....47,859	1922....67,907
1917....54,324	1920....50,779	1923....67,079

See Alexander B. Andrews' "Comparative Statistics of the Episcopal Church since 1849" in the "Living Church Annual" for 1942, pp. 412-415. A very valuable table.

justment to these revolutionary changes in American life. But the one enormous handicap which it could not overcome until after 1930—and the one most responsible for the slowing up of its rate of growth since 1846, and more especially since 1890—was immigration. Yet this overwhelming factor is almost never considered in any discussion of the subject.

An analysis of this element in the problem is exceedingly pertinent at this time: first, because there is a sufficient amount of data available to demonstrate its importance; second, because the history of this Church for the last 100 years cannot be rightly understood if immigration is ignored; third, because for the first time in the history of this country immigration since 1930 has not been an element in the net increase in its population, and probably never will be again a serious factor; and, fourth, because the most hopeful era since 1830 with respect to immigration has opened for this Church's growth. The Episcopal Church has already proved that given time for the second and third generations of immigrants to appear, it has an appeal to the unchurched among them. Not only thousands of able and devoted laymen, but many distinguished priests and bishops of immigrant stock have certified to the effectiveness of that appeal. With the Church no longer engulfed by 27½ million immigrants in a period of 50 years, as was the case between 1880 and 1930, almost all of whom were of a non-Anglican background, we have reason to believe that its rate of growth will be very much better.

#### THE DECADE: 1930-1940

The decade, 1930-1940, witnessed the smallest rate of growth in the population of the United States since the first census of 1790. The population increased from 122,775,046 in 1930 to 131,669,275 in 1940—a net increase of 8,894,229, or 7.2 per cent. But this rate of increase was less than one-half that shown in any previous decade since the first census of 1790.

The Bureau of the Census made this significant statement on December 4, 1940:<sup>2</sup>

"The slowing down in population growth can be laid to the falling birthrate and the virtual stoppage of immigration from abroad. During the past decade, all of the increase in population represents the natural increase—the excess of births over deaths. In fact, for the first time in the history of this nation,

<sup>2</sup>*Bulletin, Series P-2, p. 1. All population and immigration statistics used in this article are from official reports of the Bureau of the Census of the United States or from the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Labor.*

the number of emigrants during an intercensal period was greater than the number of immigrants. During the decade from April 1, 1930, to April 1, 1940, the number of persons who left this country for foreign lands exceeded by 46,518 the number who entered the United States. This is in sharp contrast with immigration trends between 1920 and 1930, when 19 per cent of the population increase of 17,064,426 persons was attributable to immigration. . . . ”

Yet in this same decade of falling birthrate and virtual stoppage of immigration the Episcopal Church's rate of communicant growth in relation to population was greater than that of any decade since 1900. In fact, it was more than that of the three preceding decades combined.

The best method of determining whether the growth of the Church is keeping pace with that of the population is known as the “Ratio of the Population of the Continental United States to One Communicant.”<sup>3</sup> In 1830 this ratio was 415.8 to 1; in 1940, 90.2 to 1. In other words, if the population of the United States in 1830 had been lined up and passed in procession, only one out of every 415 persons would have been a communicant of the Episcopal Church. If during the intervening 110 years the Church had not grown faster than the population, the ratio would have remained the same: in 1940 only one out of every 415 persons would have been a communicant of this Church. But, in fact, the Church has always grown faster than the population so that, today, one out of every 90 persons in the continental United States is a communicant—a net gain of 325 ratio points in 110 years.

In the 30 year period, 1900-1930, the Church just about kept pace with the civil population. In 1900 the ratio was 102.3 to 1; in 1930, 97.3 to 1—a net gain of only 5 ratio points in 30 years. This slow growth, relative to the increase in population, was largely due to an enormous immigration of 18,638,406—the highest number in any comparable period in the nation's history—of whom a mere handful had any Anglican background.

But in the last decade, 1930-40, when for the first time immigration was no element in the increase in population, and in the face of a rapidly falling birthrate, the ratio of population to one communicant improved from 97.3 to 1 in 1930 to 90.2 to 1 in 1940—a net gain of 7 ratio points in 10 years compared with a net increase of only 5 points during the preceding 30 years.

That this improvement in the ratio of communicants to population

<sup>3</sup>See the “*Living Church Annual*” for 1942, pp. 414-415, for the most accurate table of this kind available. Also, Table Number Three, in this article below.

was due to the virtual cessation of immigration can be proved by comparison with two other decades since 1900.

The decade 1920-30 actually had a higher percentage increase in communicants than the decade 1930-40: 17.4 per cent in the former, only 15.7 in the latter. Yet 1920-30 showed a net gain of only 1.1 ratio points compared with the net gain of 7.1 ratio points in the last decade. What was the reason for this seeming paradox? The 4 million immigrants in the Twenties represented 24 per cent of the total net increase of 17 million in the population. In the Thirties immigrants contributed nothing to the total net increase in population.

Comparison with the first decade of the 20th century is even more striking. Between 1900 and 1910 the net increase in communicants was 25.2 per cent, almost 10 per cent greater than between 1930 and 1940. Yet the net gain in ratio points in the first decade was but 3.5 (102.3 to 1 in 1900; 98.8 to 1 in 1910)—less than half of the 7.1 ratio points gained between 1930 and 1940. The reason is clear. The largest number of immigrants in any decennial period of our nation's history (8,795,386) made up over one-half (55.0 per cent) of the country's total net increase of almost 16 million (15,977,691) in population between 1900 and 1910. In no other decade was so great a percentage of the nation's net increase in population attributable to immigration. The wonder is, not that the Church failed to do better, but that it did so well in the face of such a handicap for which it was not responsible and which it could in no wise control.

#### IMMIGRATION NOT A SERIOUS FACTOR UNTIL AFTER 1846

The average American, if he thinks about it at all, generally assumes that immigration has always been a large element in the rapid growth of the nation's population. But this is not the case.

For all practical purposes, immigration was no factor at all until after 1830. No records were kept until 1820, but it is estimated by competent authorities that not more than 250,000 immigrants came to these shores from abroad between the first census (1790) and 1820. The only serious challenge appears to be that this estimate is too high. We shall then be safe in saying that a maximum of 250,000 between 1780 and 1820—a period of 40 years—is a fair calculation.

Add to this number the 143,439 immigrants of the decade 1821-1830, and this makes a total of less than 400,000 immigrants in 50 years. But between 1790 and 1830 the population increased from 4 million (3,929,881) to 13 million (12,866,020). Of this net increase of 9 million in 40 years the 400,000 immigrants represented less than five

(4.4) per cent. Thus in this period the native white population increased 237 per cent—a doubling every 22 or 23 years—a rate of genetic increase almost unprecedented in the history of civilized man.

During the ten years, 1831-1840, more immigrants (599,125) entered the United States than had come in the preceding 50 years. Yet this larger immigration was only 14.2 per cent of the net increase in population—4,203,433—for the decade, and only 3.5 per cent of the total population of 17 million.

As a matter of fact, immigration was not a serious factor in any phase of American life until after 1846, following upon the tragic potato famine in Ireland and the failure of the revolution of 1848 in Germany. Thus it was that during the first 70 years (1776-1846) of America's national life, the total number of immigrants was less than 1,600,000, whereas in that period the population of the country grew from 3 million to 21 million. To this astonishing increase of 18 million in 70 years immigrants contributed but 8.8 per cent.

In 1790, when the first census was taken, the total population of 3,929,625 was divided between 3,172,444 white and 757,181 colored; 80.7 per cent for the former, 19.3 per cent for the latter.

Of the white population, comprising about 600,000 families, 91 per cent was of British descent; and nine-tenths of those of British descent were English. In other words, 80 per cent of the total white population in 1790 was of English ancestry.

The Census Bureau by several different studies which closely agree in results, estimates that the native white stock descended from those 600,000 white families of 1790 numbered 37,290,000 in 1900 out of a total population of 75,994,575; and 47,330,000 in 1920 out of a total population of 105,710,620. In short, descendants of the 600,000 white families of 1790 comprised 49 per cent of the total population in 1900, and 44.7 per cent in 1920.

General Francis A. Walker, superintendent of the 1870 and 1880 censuses, gave it as his opinion:<sup>4</sup>

"Foreign immigration into this country has, from the time it first assumed large proportions, amounted not to a reenforcement of our population, but to a replacement of native by foreign stock. That if the foreigners had not come, the native element would long since have filled the places the foreigners usurped, I entertain not a doubt."

He based his opinion, first, upon the fact that the population in 1860 was but 10,000 more than if the rate of natural increase of 1830

<sup>4</sup>Quoted in "A Century of Population Growth, 1790-1900," Bureau of the Census, 1909, p. 89.

(which was 31.8 per cent) had been maintained; and, second, that the decline in the birthrate of the native born was due to the "competitive shock" of immigration. The birth rate began to decline just as immigration began to increase, and the decline was greatest in those regions, states, "and in the very counties" where immigration was heaviest.

Walker's conclusion has been adopted by several later authorities on immigration and challenged by others. If his opinion be true, immigration has contributed little to the final total of population but instead merely substituted foreign for native stock.

Walker was ahead of his time, as most constructive thinkers are. World War I shook this country out of its complacency, routed the sentimentalists and their "melting pot" theory, and led straight to the Johnson Act of 1924 whereby the number of immigrants admitted each year is limited to two per cent of the respective nationalities comprising the population as of the census of 1890. This permits the entry of only 17,680 immigrants per year from southern and eastern Europe; and 140,799 per year from northern and western Europe.

One thing is certain: if the Episcopal Church had had to deal with a native population only, and if it had maintained the rate of growth which it established in the decade 1830-40, it would have been a vastly larger body than it is today. But perhaps in the providence of God it is destined for a greater role than merely to be a "big" Church.

#### A GREAT DECADE (1831-1840) FOR THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Although, as we have seen, some 600,000 immigrants entered the United States during the ten years, 1831-1840 (more than had come in the preceding 50 years), nevertheless it was an overwhelmingly native population with which the Church had to deal during this decade. In those ten years the population increased from 13 million to 17 million, or 32.7 per cent. The 600,000 immigrants contributed but 14.2 per cent to the net increase (over 4,000,000) in population. While this was large compared to any previous decennial period, it was to be the smallest contribution of immigrants to the increase in population during any decade in the next 100 years. These 600,000 immigrants numbered but 3.5 per cent of the total population at the end of the decade; and the entire 1,000,000 immigrants since 1780 were less than 6 per cent of the 17 million of 1840.

Moreover, in the settlement of the West the Church had to do with one of the greatest migrations of history. Even before the War of Independence people were moving over the mountains. Of the 4

million people in the United States in 1790, 200,000, or 5 per cent, were living west of the mountains.

In 1821 the total number of states was 25, of which 12 were new; and of the 12 new states, 10 were west of the Alleghanies.

The settled area increased from 240,000 square miles in 1790 to 633,000 in 1830, with an average of 20.3 persons to the square mile. Wisconsin and Michigan, with the northern halves of Illinois and Indiana, were still very thinly settled, but this condition was not to be for long. Generally speaking, by 1840, the territory east of the Mississippi river was preempted and pioneers were already pushing across that temporary barrier both north and south.

The bulk of this huge migration being native American, the institutions of the West as well as of the East were fixed before the nation was called upon to absorb the large foreign element which began arriving after 1846.

One of the provisions of the public land system was the reservation of one township in each 36 to the new states for educational purposes. The excellent public school systems of the western states have been founded on this provision. The common school, reflecting the political and cultural instincts of the class from which the migration came, has rendered an incalculable service. Not only has it afforded an education to the children of native Americans, no matter how poor, but by its democracy and universal use of the English language it has performed the seemingly impossible task of Americanizing within relatively short periods the children of the foreign born.

Along with this wonderful growth in the native population and the great migration westward went a marked increase in the number of towns. As late as 1800 there were but 6 towns of 8,000 or more inhabitants; between 1820 and 1830 the number doubled from 13 to 26; by 1840 they numbered 44, an increase of 70 per cent in 10 years.

The "Jacksonian Era" is one of the most fascinating in American history. No similar decade of the 19th century is so extraordinary for material development. At its beginning the country was an overgrown type of colonial life; at its end American life had shifted to entirely new lines which it has since followed.

Before the advent of the steamboat (1807) the river trip from Louisville to New Orleans consumed from three to four months. In 1820 steamboats made the trip in less than 20 days; in 1838, in 6 days.

Canals blanketed the country. The importance of the Erie canal to New York State and New York City is well known. The importance of some not so well known is not sufficiently appreciated. To illustrate, the Morris canal between Jersey City, New Jersey, and Easton,

Pennsylvania, on the Delaware river, only 100 miles, restored prosperity to the then great iron industry in New Jersey, languishing for lack of cheap fuel, by bringing in Pennsylvania coal. It so stimulated Newark's industry that its population increased 60 per cent between 1830 and 1840, and more than doubled in the next decade. Before this canal was built, it cost as much to transport iron to New York from the busy furnaces of Dover, New Jersey, as from the Russian port of Archangel on the White Sea.

Canals, by threatening with loss of trade those cities which could not have them, stimulated the building of railways. In 1830 railroad mileage was but 23; in 1835, it was 1,098; in 1840, 2,800.

New inventions appeared year after year further to accelerate the development of the country. In 1834 Cyrus Hall McCormick patented the reaper. This, supplemented by improvements and other inventions, began the mechanization of agriculture whereby fewer farmers could assure an adequate food supply for the growing population, thus releasing millions for industrial and other pursuits.

In 1836 the anthracite coal of Pennsylvania was successfully applied to railways, and in 1837 to the manufacture of iron. In 1838 steam navigation across the Atlantic was established. In 1839 Charles Goodyear's method of vulcanizing rubber came into use.

Social conditions improved. Imprisonment for debt and cruel and inhuman punishments began to disappear. The introduction of aqueducts of pure water, the domestic use of anthracite coal and gas, introduced changes in homes and architecture.

A distinct American literature dates from this period. Whittier, Longfellow, Holmes, Poe, Hawthorne, Emerson, Bancroft and Prescott began their contributions which no longer followed foreign models with servility. Even those writers—Bryant, Dana, Halleck, Drake, Irving and Cooper—who had already made their place in literature, began to reveal greater independence of foreign models and methods.

This optimistic condition was seriously blighted by the panic of 1837, one of the worst the country ever experienced, and untold suffering and hardship resulted. But both the material and spiritual gains were far greater than the losses, and the country ended the decade on a far higher level than it entered it. The United States of 1840 was a vastly different country from what it had been in 1830.

Thomas March Clark (1812-1903), bishop of Rhode Island (1854-1903) and presiding bishop (1899-1903), was ordained in 1836. In 1894 he wrote his *Reminiscences* in which this passage occurs:<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Clark, Thomas M., "Reminiscences," New York, 1895. Second edition. Pp. 32ff. The whole volume is very interesting.

"During the decade between the years 1830 and 1840 the Episcopal Church made such an advance as it had never known before. The number of clergy doubled during this period, and for the first time in its existence its influence began to be felt somewhat generally in the community . . . ."

How true is this statement?

Dioceses increased from 19 to 27, or 42 per cent; parishes from about 772 to 1,073, or 40 per cent; clergy from 600 to 1,100, or 83 per cent. According to Burgess' *List of Deacons*, ordinations to the diaconate for the ten years 1831-40 totalled 653, compared with 310 for the decade 1821-30—an increase of 110 per cent.

Communicants increased from 31,000 to 56,000, or 80 per cent. The ratio of population to one communicant improved from 415 to 1 in 1830 to 307 to 1 in 1840—a net gain of 108 ratio points, a rate of increase never before or since equalled.

The following comparisons between the beginning and the end of the decade will also indicate the forward surge of the Church:

Baptisms increased from an average of 7,700 per year to 11,500 per year. Confirmations from an average of 3,600 per year to 5,000 per year, and this is the principal reason for the growth in the number of communicants.

Paradoxical though it be, the number of marriages and burials reveals the growing popularity of the Church. Then as now, many of the marriages and most of the burials at which the clergy officiated were not those of churchmen. The unchurched were turning in greater numbers to the Episcopal Church for such ministrations. Marriages increased from 2,000 per year to 3,000. Burials from 4,000 annually to over 5,000. The number of the latter was especially heavy in 1832 because of deaths from Asiatic cholera.

The number of Sunday school teachers doubled between 1832 and 1841; the number of Sunday school scholars increased 60 per cent.

Churches consecrated on an average of 28 per year rose to 56 by 1838, declining to 31 because of the effects of the panic of 1837.

Priests ordained on an average of 30 per year at the beginning of the decade increased to 60 by 1838, decreasing to 56 by 1840. Deacons ordained on an average of 40 per year rose to 70 by 1838, dropping to 62 by 1840.

In 1832 there were 134 candidates for Holy Orders; in 1838, 188; in 1841, 155.

In 1830 the Episcopal Church was a very small affair. By 1840 it had become a force to be reckoned with in American life.

## REASONS FOR THE GROWTH OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH: 1830-1840

If the Episcopal Church made such a remarkable growth between 1830 and 1840, during which decade 600,000 immigrants came to the United States, why had it not done as well in preceding decades when immigration was no factor at all?

One answer is that the Church had been growing in appreciable fashion ever since 1811, but no satisfactory statistical data by which we might measure that growth were returned to General Convention until that of 1832.

A second answer is that the Church did not "get going" on all cylinders until this particular decade. To change the metaphor, its better team work, which had taken the larger part of 50 years to achieve, began to turn in some notable victories. The Church had become Americanized in the best sense of that term. It had adapted itself to its new environment. It had taken its ancient and time-tested spiritual instruments such as convocation, the episcopate, the priesthood, and confirmation, and streamlined them for the new country and the new day in which they were to serve.

Convocation became the annual diocesan and triennial general convention, representative of bishops, presbyters and laymen.

The episcopate, shaking off its temporal or civil functions and autocratic character, became purely ecclesiastical and democratic. It was then able to overcome the suspicions of prelacy with which for 25 years it was regarded even by churchmen, and became magnificently aggressive as exemplified by Bishops Hobart, Griswold, Dehon, and Richard Channing Moore. The good which Hobart did was not interred with his bones, but lived after him even unto this day. White who had lived through the days when, as he himself said, the Church was "approaching annihilation," had become more aggressive with advancing years. Before he died in 1836 he had seen his Church revived and strengthened, better prepared to take advantage of the opportunities opening before it than it had ever been in its history.

The priesthood, now almost entirely recruited from the native born, had become American in background, understanding and outlook. The theological seminary as an institution necessary for the proper training of the clergy had been recognized and organized. The General Theological Seminary had been established by General Convention in 1817. This was followed by Kenyon College and the Virginia Theological Seminary under local control. The large number of ordinations during the Thirties, double that of the preceding ten years, would have been improbable if not impossible without the seminaries. The enroll-

ment in the General Seminary during this decade will indicate how much better the Church was able to meet the imperative demands for expansion :

1831: 23	1835: 80	1838: 74
1832: 42	1836: 90	1839: 66
1833: 49	1837: 86	1840: 75
1834: 65		

As the Church passed from a strategy of the defensive and apologetic to one of offensive and the attack, both bishops and priests aggressively pushed confirmation as an emotionally sound and spiritually effective instrument for transforming her own children into communicants and for bringing unchurched adults into the Church's communion and fellowship. It was a potent foil against the excesses of revivalism which often insulted the intelligence and revolted the feelings of thinking laymen.

More frequent confirmations involved more regular visitations by the bishops. Until Hobart set the example, such regular visitations had not been customary: first, because most of the early bishops had to be rectors of parishes in order to live; second, because of the suspicion in which they were held in many quarters; and, third, because any parish desiring a visit from the bishop had to pay his expenses, and this many were unwilling or unable to do.

The different episcopal temper of the Thirties is well exemplified in Bishop George Washington Doane's address to the New Jersey diocesan convention of 1835:

"Of the expediency of *annual confirmations*, I have not a moment's doubt. It may be said that in all parishes this cannot be. At least, let it not be for the want of due instruction of the people. When the appointment for the visitation is received, let the clergyman give notice of the Bishop's intention to confirm. Without waiting for candidates to present themselves, let him proceed to exhort his people, in their bounden duty, to profess the Saviour before men; and to instruct them in the way which he himself, or his apostles, guided by his Spirit, instituted or ordained. Let him pursue this course in sermons, in familiar lectures, and in private conversation, until the time appointed shall arrive. Very seldom will this bread be cast in vain upon the waters . . . The seasons of confirmation are, or at least ought to be, seasons of refreshing to the Church . . . The whole number of persons confirmed by me in the diocese, during the two years and a half of my connexion with it, is 481. The greatest number reported in any previous three years is 256—while the average number of confirmations in three years, since 1820, is 186 . . ."

The parish clergy responded to such leadership by instructing and presenting confirmands in great numbers. When confirmation was regularly administered, the Church's communicants rapidly increased. It is doubtful if any branch of the Anglican Communion, not even the mother Church of England, has presented for confirmation so many adults reared in other communions, as has the American Episcopal Church.

Not only had the ancient and time-tested spiritual instruments of the Church been successfully adapted to its American environment, but by 1830 several of our most characteristic present day religious institutions had been evolved and taken root. These were, in addition to the theological seminary, already mentioned: the Sunday school, the women's guild or female aid society, the Bible and Prayer Book society, the Tract Society, the Christian Knowledge society, and the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society.<sup>6</sup>

The statesmanship of the General Conventions of the decade 1830-40 was of a high order. It was determined that a bishop could resign his jurisdiction and another could be elected and consecrated in his stead. Relief was provided for large and unwieldy dioceses by authorizing two or more dioceses within a single state. And most important of all, a vigorous missionary policy was adopted. It was declared that every baptized member of the Church was *ipso facto* a member of the missionary society. Instead of waiting until the Church's members who had migrated west should ask for a bishop, it was resolved that the Church would send bishops as well as priests to shepherd the distant members of the flock. Today this is a very commonplace principle of action; 100 years ago it was little less than revolutionary. In the succeeding century it was to bear abundant fruit.

In addition to the internal reasons outlined above there were some important external reasons for the Church's growth at this time. Mere enumeration must here suffice: (1) the decline of prejudice against the Episcopal Church as the offspring of the Church of England; (2) the intellectual revolt against Puritanism; (3) the breakdown and the barrenness of the old Puritan life and worship; (4) the resentment of Protestant laymen against the new and unscriptural tests of communion imposed by many Protestant bodies, such as total abstinence, abolition, and the prohibition against joining fraternal orders; (5) revulsion against the crude revivalism with its deplorable excesses, more or less common to most Protestant denominations; (6) the spread of education among the masses which made liturgical services more

<sup>6</sup>For an authoritative treatment of this institutional development, see, William Wilson Mawross: "The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1800-1840: A Study in Church Life." Columbia University Press, New York, 1938. 270 pp.

acceptable to more people than previously; (7) the Asiatic cholera of 1832 which was considered a divine visitation; (8) the huge migrations which uprooted millions ecclesiastically as well as socially and economically. This last was especially favorable to the Episcopal Church in New York State. New Englanders by the hundreds of thousands moved into western New York and there the Church was early on the ground ready to welcome them and to minister to their needs.

The internal and external reasons for the Church's growth in the Thirties extended into the Forties, but the rate of growth in the later decade, while excellent, was slowed up. Why? Allowing for the lamentable controversies of the next decade and their harmful effect upon the Church's growth (which, however, should not be exaggerated), it will be readily seen that the hitherto unprecedented immigration was the principal reason for the Church's inability to maintain the phenomenal rate of the Thirties.

#### IMMIGRATION BY FIFTY YEAR PERIODS

The following table will help to visualize the problem. Very conveniently for our study, immigration into the United States divides itself neatly into three 50 year periods.

The first period (1780-1830) was that during which immigration was, for all practical purposes, no factor at all.

The second period (1831-1880) was characterized by mounting numbers, totalling 10 million in 50 years, with serious problems beginning after 1846. The immigrants were, however, almost entirely from northern and western Europe, and they were predominantly agricultural in vocation and rural in residence.

During the third period (1881-1930) immigration reached alarming proportions:  $27\frac{1}{2}$  million in 50 years. By 1905 they were arriving at the rate of one million a year. The largest number in any single year was 1,285,349 in 1907, but 1914 with 1,218,480 was not far behind. Moreover, after 1880 the ethnological character of the immigration changed radically. Whereas in the preceding half century the immigrants had mostly come from northern and western Europe, now they were pouring in from southern and eastern Europe. A third difference was that the new immigration was urban and not rural. The free land was gone and the cities became congested with huge blocks of unassimilated aliens.

The fourth period (1931 to date) is the one in which we are now living. Immigration has ceased to be a factor in the growth of population.

## TABLE NUMBER ONE

## SECTION I: 1780-1830

IMMIGRATION: 1780-1820 (estimated) . . . . .	250,000
1821-1830 . . . . .	143,439
Total immigration, 1780-1830 . . . . .	393,439
POPULATION: 1780 (estimated) . . . . .	3,000,000
1830 . . . . .	12,866,020
Total net increase in population.....	9,866,020
Total percent increase in population.....	328.8

Less than four (3.9) percent of the total net increase (9,866,020) in population is attributable to the 393,439 immigrants who entered during this first 50 year period.

## SECTION II: 1831-1880

IMMIGRATION: 1831-1840 . . . . .	599,125
1841-1850 . . . . .	1,713,251
1851-1860 . . . . .	2,598,214
1861-1870 . . . . .	2,314,824
1871-1880 . . . . .	2,812,191

Total Immigration, 1831-1880 . . . . . 10,037,605

## PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN:

A. Not distributed by country of origin, 1831-40.....	599,125
[Information not available.]	
B. Total from the United Kingdom, 1841-1880.....	4,413,444
1. From Ireland . . . . .	2,567,487
2. From England . . . . .	939,200
3. Not specified . . . . .	719,857
4. From Scotland . . . . .	168,376
5. From Wales . . . . .	18,524
C. Total from Continental Europe, 1841-1880 . . . . .	3,974,249
1. From Germany . . . . .	2,891,943
2. From Scandinavia . . . . .	408,530
(Norway, Sweden and Denmark)	
D. Total from Canada, 1841-1880 . . . . .	638,550
E. Total from Asia (mostly from China), 1841-1880.....	229,990

POPULATION: 1930 . . . . .	12,866,020
1880 . . . . .	50,155,783
<hr/>	
Total net increase, 1830-80 . . . . .	37,289,763
Percent increase in population . . . . .	289.8

Immigrants (10,037,605) during this 50 year period represented 26.9 percent of the total net increase (37,289,763) in population.

COMMUNICANTS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH: 1830.....	30,939
1880.....	341,155
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Total net increase, 1830-1880 . . . . .	310,155
Percent increase in communicants . . . . .	1,002.6

Ratio of population to 1 communicant:

1830 . . . . .	415.8 to 1
1880 . . . . .	147.0 to 1
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Net gain in ratio points . . . . .	268.8
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### SECTION III: 1881-1930

IMMIGRATION: 1881-1890 . . . . .	5,246,613
1891-1900 . . . . .	3,687,564
1901-1910 . . . . .	8,795,386
1911-1920 . . . . .	5,735,811
1921-1930 . . . . .	4,107,209
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Total Immigration, 1881-1930 . . . . .	27,572,583
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### PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN:

A. Total from the United Kingdom . . . . .	4,026,201
1. From Ireland . . . . .	1,749,735
2. From England . . . . .	1,656,787
3. From Scotland . . . . .	552,664
4. From Wales . . . . .	66,780
5. Not specified . . . . .	235
B. Total from Continental Europe . . . . .	19,260,256
1. From Italy . . . . .	4,569,918
2. From Austria-Hungary . . . . .	4,051,582
3. From Russia . . . . .	3,298,821

4. From Germany . . . . .	2,855,767
5. From Scandinavia . . . . .	1,934,992
(Norway, Sweden, Denmark)	
C. Total from Canada . . . . .	2,212,541
D. Total from Asia . . . . .	673,142
(From Japan: 275,308; from China: 148,300)	

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POPULATION: 1880 . . . . .	50,155,783
1930 . . . . .	122,775,046

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Total net increase, 1880-1930 . . . . .	72,619,263
Percent increase in population . . . . .	144.7

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Immigrants (27,572,583) during this 50 year period contributed 37.9 percent of the total net increase (72,619,263) in population.

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COMMUNICANTS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH: 1880.....	341,155
1930.....	1,261,167

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Total net increase, 1880-1930 . . . . .	920,012
Percent increase in communicants . . . . .	269.6

Ratio of population to 1 communicant:

1880 . . . . .	147.0 to 1
1930 . . . . .	97.3 to 1

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Net gain in ratio points..... 49.7

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#### SECTION IV: 1931-1940

None of the increase in population was attributable to immigration. For the first time in the history of the nation during an intercensal period the number of emigrants exceeded by 46,518 the number of immigrants.

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#### SECTION V

##### SUMMARY AND COMPARISONS: 1780-1930

###### IMMIGRATION:

First 50 year period, 1780-1830 . . . . .	393,439
Second 50 year period, 1831-1880.....	10,037,605
Third 50 year period, 1881-1930.....	27,572,583
150 year total of immigration, 1780-1930.....	38,003,627

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POPULATION: 1780 (estimated) . . . . .	3,000,000
1930 . . . . .	122,775,046
Net Increase, 1780-1930 . . . . .	119,775,046

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Immigrants (38,003,627) during this century and a half (1780-1930) represented 31.7 percent of the total net increase (119,775,046) in population.

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### SOME COMPARISONS

An average immigration of 8,000 per year during the first 50 years (1780-1830) increased to an average of 200,000 per year during the second 50 year period (1831-1880); and this in turn rose to an average of 550,000 per year during the third 50 year period (1881-1930).

In the first century (1780-1880) of the nation's independent existence 10½ million immigrants entered the United States of America; yet in half that number of years (1881-1930) two and one-half times as many immigrants (27½ million) entered the country.

Thus immigration in the last 50 years (1881-1930) was 164.3 percent more than in the first 100 years (1780-1880) of our national life.

Whereas in the first 100 years (1780-1880) of the nation's history immigration accounted for but 22.1 percent of the net increase in population, in the third half century (1881-1930) 37.9 percent of the total net increase in population is attributed to immigration.

It should also be noted that whereas between 1831 and 1880 the number of immigrants from the United Kingdom of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales (c. 5,000,000) was approximately one million more than the number coming from continental Europe (4,000,000) in the same period, almost five times as many (19,260,256) arrived from continental Europe between 1881 and 1930 as had come from the United Kingdom (4,000,000) in this latter half century.

All of those coming from the United Kingdom spoke some variety of the English language, and all had a similar background of common law, representative government, and the rights and duties of free men. Even the Irish who denounced the English for repressive measures, took to American politics like ducks to water, as every newspaper reader knows.

Few of those coming from continental Europe spoke or read English and none except the Scandinavians, the French, the Hollanders and the Swiss, had any background of republican institutions or the democratic way of life. Of these latter, only the Scandinavians totalling less than 2½ million in 100 years were an appreciable numerical factor in immigration.

The revolutionary shift in the national origins as well as numbers of the immigrants of the last 50 years compared with the first 100 years of United States history is well illustrated by this striking fact among many others: At the end of World War I there were more Italians in the city of New York than in the city of Rome, Italy.

TABLE NUMBER TWO

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE INCREASE OF POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY DECADES

CENSUS DATE	Popula-tion	DECENNIAL INCREASE		DECENNIAL IMMIGRATION	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Proportion of Net Increase in Population: Per Cent
1790.....	3,929,214	.....	.....	.....	.....
1800.....	5,308,483	1,379,269	35.1	.....	.....
1810.....	7,239,881	1,931,398	36.4	.....	.....
1820.....	9,638,453	2,398,572	33.1	250,000*	.....
1830.....	12,866,020	3,227,567	33.5	143,439	4.4
1840.....	17,069,453	4,203,433	32.7	599,125	14.2
1850.....	23,191,876	6,122,423	35.9	1,713,251	27.9
1860.....	31,443,321	8,251,445	35.6	2,598,214	31.4
1870.....	39,818,449†	8,375,128†	26.6	2,314,824	27.6
1880.....	50,155,783	10,337,334†	26.0	2,812,191	27.2
1890.....	62,947,714	12,791,931	25.5	5,246,613	41.0
1900.....	75,994,575	13,046,861	20.7	3,687,564	28.2
1910.....	91,972,266	15,977,691	21.0	8,795,386	55.0
1920.....	105,710,620	13,738,354	14.9	5,735,811	41.7
1930.....	122,775,046	17,064,426	16.1	4,107,209	24.0
1940.....	131,669,275	8,894,229	7.2	†	†

\*Up to 1820 no immigration statistics were kept, but it is estimated by competent authorities that the total immigration for the 30 years, 1790-1820, did not exceed 250,000, or only 4.3 per cent of the total population increase of 5,709,239 for that 30-year period. By many it is regarded as too high.

†Revised figures for 1870 and for the decennial increase ending 1880, according to the Bureau of the Census Bulletin, Series P-2, dated December 4, 1940.

‡“For the first time in the history of this nation, the number of emigrants during an intercensal period was greater than the number of immigrants. During the decade from April 1, 1930, to April 1, 1940, the number of persons who left this country for foreign lands exceeded by 46,518 the number who entered the United States.” *Ibid.*, p. 1. No percentage of the increase in population, 1930-1940, is therefore attributable to immigration.

## TABLE NUMBER THREE

COMMUNICANT GROWTH OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH  
IN CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES

YEAR	COMMUNICANTS			RATIO OF POPULATION TO ONE COMMUNICANT	
	Total Number	DECENNIAL INCREASE		Ratio	Decennial Gain in Ratio Points
		Number	Per Cent		
1830*	30,939	.....	.....	415.8 to 1	.....
1840	55,477	24,538	79.3	307.6 to 1	108.2
1850	98,655	43,178	77.8	235.0 to 1	72.6
1860	150,591	51,936	52.6	208.7 to 1	26.3
1870	231,591	81,000	53.7	171.9 to 1†	36.8
1880	341,155	109,564	47.3	147.0 to 1	24.9
1890	531,525	190,370	55.8	118.4 to 1	28.6
1900	742,569	211,044	39.7	102.3 to 1	16.1
1910	930,037	187,468	25.2	98.8 to 1	3.5
1920	1,073,832	143,795	15.4	98.4 to 1	0.4
1930	1,261,167	187,335	17.4	97.3 to 1	1.1
1940	1,459,227	198,060	15.7	90.2 to 1	7.1

\*No reliable statistical data on the Church's communicants before 1830 have been compiled. The General Convention journal of 1832 was the first to publish tables of abstracts of diocesan reports. Church yearbooks or almanacs are also unsatisfactory on this subject before 1830.

†The ratio of population to 1 communicant for 1870 differs from that given in the table of the "Living Church Annual" for 1942, pp. 414-415. The latter gives the ratio for 1870 as 166.493 to 1, based on a United States population of 38,558,371. But the Bureau of the Census has revised the population figure of 1870, listing it in its 1940 bulletins as 39,818,449. The ratio given in the table above is therefore correct.

## HOW MUCH DID THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH PROFIT FROM IMMIGRATION?

With regard to quantity and not quality the truth would appear to be that the Episcopal Church is among those religious bodies which profited least from immigration.

Data concerning country of origin before 1841 are not available. Of the 38 million immigrants who entered this country during the 150 years (1780-1930), we have knowledge of the country of origin of the 37 million who came during the 90 years between 1841 and 1930.

Of these 37 million we can eliminate 23½ million who came from Continental Europe as of non-Anglican stock. Most of these were Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Jews, Eastern Orthodox, and Calvinists (Dutch, German, French)—in about that order.

Of the more than 4¼ million from Ireland all but small minorities were Roman Catholic; Scotch-Irish Presbyterians would be one of the minorities, and Irish Episcopalians another.

The Roman Catholic Church profited most from immigration; the Lutheran Churches (of which there were still 24 separate bodies in America as late as 1930), second. In 1850, among seven leading Christian groups in the United States, the Roman Catholic Church stood fifth; by 1926 it had moved up to first place. In 1850 the Lutherans as a whole ranked seventh; by 1926, they were fourth.

In the 90 years, 1841-1930, some  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million immigrants came from England—only 7 per cent of the total 37 million immigrants of that period. How many of these were Anglicans we have no means of knowing, but two observations can be made:

First, large numbers of non-conformists came to this country because of resentment against the English class system and because they sought here a better economic opportunity.

Second, for a period of not less than 40 years leaders of the Church in England and America were concerned about the tremendous losses of Anglican emigrants to the Church. The Anglo-American Emigrants' Aid Society, organized 1855, was the outgrowth of the visit of the S. P. G. delegation to the American Church in 1853. It sought to stem the losses by work on both sides of the Atlantic.

Almost 40 years later the Committee on the State of the Church in its report to the General Convention of 1892 stated:<sup>7</sup>

“We ought, it need scarcely be said, to make every effort to provide for the Church of England emigrants. They come to this country ignorant, most of them, of the close relation between our Church and theirs. They are amazed to find here no established Church; and the words ‘Protestant Episcopal’ they either do not understand at all, or confound with ‘Methodist Episcopal.’

“The consequence is that a large proportion of those who come here are either drawn off into other Communions or become careless and indifferent, because there is no one to care for them, as the Church did ‘at home’.”

We do know that the Church in Massachusetts and Rhode Island benefitted largely from the immigration of English mill workers, especially in the textile and other factory centers of those two states. No other diocese appear to have enjoyed such goodly accessions.

It is quite certain that not five per cent of the immigrants into the United States during the last 100 years were Anglicans. More than likely not half that number were such. The growth which the Episcopal Church has achieved between 1830 and 1930 has been in spite of immigration and not because of it. And only as the second, third and fourth

<sup>7</sup>*General Convention Journal of 1892, p. 457.*

generations of descendants of immigrants have appeared has it been able to make effective headway against this tremendous handicap.

In 1850, when immigration was beginning to mount, the Episcopal Church ranked sixth among the seven leading Christian groups. Excepting the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches, which benefitted most from immigration and radically improved their positions, the Episcopal Church is the only one of the seven to have retained in 1926 the same relative position which it held in 1850. By 1926 the Methodists had dropped from first to second place; the Baptists from second to third; the Presbyterians from third to fifth; the Congregationalists from fourth to eighth place.

In view of all the circumstances, this is no mean record for the Episcopal Church.

## THE FORTIES AND FIFTIES

### IMMIGRATION

The first serious shock from immigration which was to affect increasingly the growth of the Episcopal Church as to ratio of population to each communicant, and then (though less precipitously) the decennial net increase in communicants, occurred in the last third of the 1840's.

Annual immigration did not touch 100,000 until 1842, and then it fell for a year or two to almost half that number. From 1840 to 1846 the average was 90,000 immigrants per year. In 1847 it rose to 235,000, in 1849 to 300,000, and in 1850 to 428,000. All told, more than 2,225,000 persons from abroad settled in the United States between 1847 and 1854. To understand this sudden migration we must look abroad.

The increase in population in Ireland had for some time outstripped production. In 1700 the population of the Green Isle was only 1,250,000. In 1800 it was 4,500,000, and this rapid rate of increase continued for nearly the first half of the 19th century. In 1841 its population was 8,175,124.

The potato blight appeared in North America in 1844; it reached Europe in 1845, attacking Belgium, Hungary, Germany, Holland and the United Kingdom, the last named feeling its worst effects. Its worst years were 1846 and 1847, especially the latter. In a few weeks the abundant potato harvests in Ireland became a waste of putrifying vegetation.

In spite of the active measures of the British government to relieve the distress, such as relief works and great doles of maize, mostly from America, costing millions of pounds, there were many deaths from

sheer starvation. Where death did not result, the ensuing malnutrition was often appalling. Is it any wonder that in the decade following 1847 more than 1,500,000 persons emigrated from Ireland, most of them going to the United States?

Between 1841-50 over one million (1,047,763) entered the United States from the United Kingdom and over three-fourths (780,719) were from Ireland; between 1851-60 still more came (1,338,093), of whom almost one million (919,119) were from Ireland.

Germany 100 years ago was not one nation but was made up of several independent states. The Revolution of 1848 took place in all of them and in all was put down. Revolutionary leaders were forced to flee and German liberals began a great migration to the United States. The economic opportunities here were as great a magnet as our political liberty. In the decade, 1841-50, German immigrants numbered almost half a million (434,626); between 1851 and 1860 their number more than doubled (951,667).

In the 20 years between 1841 and 1860 the total immigration into the United States was almost 4½ millions (4,311,465). In the same period the total population of the United States increased from 17,069,453 to 31,443,321—a net increase of 14,373,868, or 84.1 per cent. The more than 4 million immigrants during these two decades represented, therefore, 30 per cent of the total net increase in the nation's population. This was a sizeable aggregation of aliens to assimilate, but it must be remembered that this was but the beginning of a still larger migration which was to last for 70 years after 1860.

We have still another check on this movement in the official census reports concerning the foreign born population of 1850 and 1860:<sup>8</sup>

"In 1850 the great majority of the foreign born were immigrants of the previous 10 years, of whom more than 80 per cent came from Ireland, Germany, and England. Until about 1890, immigration was largely from these countries and from the Scandinavian countries and Canada . . . ."

In 1850 the total number of foreign born was 2,244,602. Of these 42.8 per cent (961,719) had come from Ireland; 26.0 per cent (583,774) from Germany; and only 12.4 per cent (278,675) from England.

Ten years later, 1860, the foreign born numbered 4,138,697 in all. Of these 1,611,304 (38.9 per cent) were from Ireland; 1,276,075 (30.8 per cent) were from Germany; and 433,494 (10.5 per cent) were from England.

<sup>8</sup>*The Fifteenth Census Reports on Population of the United States, Volume II., 226, 233.*

By 1860 almost one-seventh (13.1 per cent) of the population had been born abroad.

#### EFFECTS UPON THE GROWTH OF THE CHURCH

We have no means of knowing exactly how many of the immigrants of these two decades had any Anglican background; but we know that none of the Germans had any, we can be sure that most of the Irish were Roman Catholics, and most of the English were probably non-conformists. Non-conformist Englishmen made up the bulk of colonial immigration and we have no evidence that this trend was much changed following the Revolutionary War.

The effects of this mounting immigration are immediately noticeable in the rate of growth of the Episcopal Church. The actual percentage increase in the number of communicants, 1840-50, was almost as high (77.8%) as in the great decade of 1830-40, when it was 79.3 per cent—only 1.5 per cent less. But the improvement in the ratio of population to one communicant had slowed up 35 ratio points—a net gain of only 72.6 ratio points for the Forties as compared with a net gain of 108.2 ratio points for the Thirties. That the decline in the rate of growth was no worse was due to the fact that immigration did not become heavy until near the end of the decade—1847 and after.

But the decade 1851-60, when immigration was 51 per cent more than between 1841-50 and when the cumulative effects of 14 years of mounting immigration were felt, tells the story. The percentage increase in communicants drops from 77.8 per cent during 1840-50 to 52.6 per cent during 1850-60. The ratio of population to each communicant, which was 235.0 to 1 in 1850, was 208.7 to 1 in 1860—a net gain of only 26.3 ratio points compared with 72.6 points in the preceding decade.

Moreover, while the ratio of 307.6 to 1 in 1840 improved to 208.7 to 1 in 1860, it had taken 20 years to make this net gain of 98.9 ratio points; whereas it had taken only 10 years (1830-40) to realize a net gain of 108.2 ratio points.

In view of the number and religious background of the immigrants during these 20 years, 1840-60, what else could one reasonably expect?

#### THE SIXTIES AND SEVENTIES

The Civil War with its loss of life and abnormal conditions interrupted both the rate of increase in the population of the United States and the amount of immigration from abroad. During the Sixties the net increase in population was only 125,000 more in number than

it had been during the Fifties; and the percentage increase (26.6), in spite of immigration, was the lowest it had ever been since the first census. And it has been declining ever since.

The number of immigrants during the decennial period, 1860-70, was over one-quarter of a million (283,390) less than in the preceding decade. The total of over 2 million from Europe was about equally divided between the United Kingdom and continental Europe—a little over one million from each. Ireland contributed less than one-half as many as had come in the Fifties, but the decline of 165,000 from Germany was almost made up by the increase from Norway, Sweden and Denmark.

The Episcopal Church, rather remarkably in view of the serious disruptions due to the war, not only maintained its rate of communicant growth of the Fifties, but increased it slightly. For 1850-60 it had been 52.6 per cent; for 1860-70 it was 53.7 per cent.

Because its rate of growth in the Sixties was as high as that of the Fifties, and because both the rate of increase of the population of the country and the number of immigrants had declined, the ratio of population to each communicant made a gratifying gain: 36.8 ratio points (171.9 to 1 in 1870 compared with 208.7 in 1860).

But the Seventies present a less favorable picture. While the Church had a net increase of 47.3 per cent in communicants (only 6.4 per cent less than in the preceding decade), the ratio of population to one communicant improved but 24.9 ratio points (147.0 to 1 in 1880; 171.9 to 1 in 1870).

This condition was largely due to four factors: (1) The net increase in population was almost 2 million more in the Seventies than it had been in the Sixties: 10,337,334 in the former; 8,375,128 in the latter. (2) The number of immigrants increased one-half million to 2,812,191—the largest number admitted in any decade thus far in the country's history. (3) The laxity of public morals after every war has been hard on the growth of the Church, and the condition prevailing after the Civil War was no exception to the rule. (4) The panic of 1873 and the five years of drastic purgation which followed, affected adversely the Church's growth. Popular opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, a financial panic and depressed economic conditions do not immediately strengthen the religious forces of a nation. On the contrary, the Church's program of expansion may be seriously curtailed. After 1873 railway building almost ceased, and as late as 1877 over 18 per cent of the railway mileage of the nation was in the hands of receivers. The iron industry was prostrated, and the mercantile failures for four years amounted to three-quarters of a billion

dollars. The combination of these four factors was too powerful to permit the Church to maintain its earlier rate of growth.

### THE BOOMING EIGHTIES

The Church's growth in the Eighties is at first glance puzzling. The Church enjoyed a net increase of 55.8 per cent in communicants, its highest decennial rate since the Forties when it was 77.8 per cent. Also, its ratio of population to each communicant had a net gain of 28.6 points: 118.4 to 1 in 1890 compared with 147.0 to 1 in 1880.

How could this be so in the face of the largest decennial immigration the country had thus far experienced? Between 1881 and 1890 the great number of 5,246,613 immigrants entered the United States, compared with 2,812,191 between 1871 and 1880. This was an increase of 2,434,422, or 86.5 per cent, during the Eighties over the Seventies. Moreover, this huge immigration was 41 per cent of the total net increase (12,791,931) in the nation's population.

More than twice as many (3,274,207) came from continental Europe as from the United Kingdom (1,426,839). In fact, almost as many (1,452,970) came from Germany as from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, combined. The Scandinavian immigration had increased to over 650,000; Italy and Austria-Hungary sent more than 300,000 each; and Russia contributed over 200,000, probably Jews for the most part. The shift to southern and eastern Europe as the major source of immigration had begun.

The immigration from the United Kingdom reached its highest number in this decade, but relative to the total it was smaller than in any preceding decennial period. Approximately 650,000 came from England, the same number from Ireland, and Scotland was represented by 150,000.

Canada had entered the picture in a big way during the Seventies with 383,000 immigrants; in the Eighties with 393,000. French-Canadians were heavily represented in these numbers.

Why, in the face of such heavy immigration, was the Church able to register such substantial growth? The answer in a sentence is that its more aggressive missionary policy, determined upon 50 years before in 1835 and more or less perseveringly pursued, paid some handsome dividends in this decade. That policy was to send missionaries and missionary bishops into the West, not to wait until they were asked for, and to plant the Church as speedily as possible wherever the national flag was unfurled.

National expansion during the Eighties was most notable west of the Mississippi River. In fact, this decade was to the trans-Mississippi

region what the Thirties had been to the Ohio valley, but with this significant difference in so far as the Church was concerned: By 1880 the Church was fairly well organized west of the Mississippi and was thus in a position to reap the benefit of the increase in population, whereas in the Thirties it was not, and the great gain made in the earlier decade had been east of the Alleghenies.

Moreover, the South, where immigration has never in its history been an appreciable factor (except for the African immigrant), had made considerable economic recovery from the Civil War. The Church in the South shared in this recovery.

Again, most of the increase in population in the trans-Mississippi area during the Eighties was of native American stock. Most of the 5½ million immigrants settled in the East or Middle West. They slowed up the growth of the Church in the East, with a few exceptions to be noted later, but the great increase of the Church in the West more than took up this slack. The full effect of this enormous immigration was not felt until the Nineties.

The Eighties were a period of general national prosperity. The national treasury showed a surplus of revenue over expenditure from 1879 to 1890. And it was the West and the newer South which profited most in population increase, in industrial expansion, and in agricultural development.

The nation grew from about 50 million to 62 million. The Middle West, or North Central group of states, gained nearly 5 million and the western division over 1,250,000. West of the Alleghenies more than 8 million souls had been added, while the old Eastern states gained but 4 million. The trans-Allegheny region surpassed the whole East by about 10 million.

Railway building, interrupted by the panic of 1873, was resumed. In the Northwest the *Northern Pacific* reached Seattle in 1883. The main line of the *Canadian Pacific* from Montreal to the Pacific was finished in five years, the last spike being driven in 1885. The *Great Northern* under the leadership of James J. Hill reached central Montana in 1888 and Puget Sound five years later.

In the Southwest the *Southern Pacific* made its way from New Orleans across Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and Southern California to San Francisco by 1883. In the same year the *Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe*, extending from St. Louis and Kansas City through Kansas, Southeastern Colorado, northern New Mexico and Arizona, also reached the Pacific coast. The *Denver & Rio Grande* opened new mining and agricultural areas between Denver, Colorado, and Ogden, Utah.

A great cattle country was opened in the former home of the Indian

and the buffalo. The cattle trail from Texas to the Dakotas and Montana appeared and reached its height in 1884.

Packing industries arose in cities near the cattle trail, Omaha, Kansas City, and Chicago being especially benefitted. The refrigerator car revolutionized this business by making possible the shipment of dressed beef to eastern United States and even to Europe. The value of the slaughtering and packing industries increased from \$30,000,000 in 1870 to \$564,000,000 in 1890.

Land-hungry pioneers pushed into western Kansas and Nebraska. Kansas grew from about 1,000,000 in 1880 to 1,500,000 in 1890; Nebraska doubled its population from 500,000 in 1880 to over 1,000,000 in 1890. Droughts and grasshoppers after 1886 ruined crops and almost depopulated several western counties in both states.

Hard wheat in Iowa, Minnesota and the Dakotas, accompanied by the introduction into Minneapolis mills of the recently invented steel roller system of making flour, made these states a new land of promise to many.

The pine forests of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota were ruthlessly exploited to the great cost of succeeding generations.

The new iron mines in Minnesota at the head of Lake Superior stimulated the steel and coal industry, and an extraordinary internal commerce along the whole length of the Great Lakes resulted. By 1890 the output of pig iron in the United States surpassed that of Great Britain, having doubled since 1880. The traffic through the Sault Ste. Marie canal exceeded that through the Suez canal.

The South shared in this industrial transformation. Between 1880 and 1890 the South was able to develop cotton manufacturing on a scale that threatened New England's dominance.

Alabama became one of the great centers of the iron industry. The South produced nearly 400,000 tons of pig iron in 1880 and 2,500,000 in 1900. By 1890 the production of coal, iron ore and pig iron in this section was as great as that of the United States as a whole in 1870.

## THE CHURCH'S GROWTH IN THE EIGHTIES

Four dioceses were organized in this decade—three in the West, one in the South, none in the East: East Carolina, 1884; Colorado, 1887; Oregon, 1899; West Missouri, 1890.

The growth of Western cities was phenomenal. Although a considerable number of immigrants settled in the newly opened lands of the Middle West, the western migration on the whole was largely composed of native stock. Horace Greeley died in 1872, but it was in the

Eighties that his famous admonition, "Go west, young man, go west," was taken most seriously.

Chicago not only increased 118 per cent in population, passing the million mark, but its increase in numbers (about 600,000) was actually more than that of the five boroughs of New York City. The diocese of Chicago gained 140 per cent in communicants;<sup>9</sup> the diocese of Springfield and Quincy, 88 and 61 per cent, respectively.

Minneapolis almost quadrupled, St. Paul more than tripled, and Duluth increased almost ten times, in population. The Church in Minnesota, in spite of heavy Scandinavian immigration, increased 73 per cent in communicants and had to have a bishop coadjutor.

Omaha more than quadrupled in population and the Church in Nebraska increased 119 per cent in communicant strength.

Des Moines more than doubled in population and the Church in Iowa increased 64 per cent.

Kansas City, Missouri, was about two and a half times as large in 1890 as in 1880, and the Church in Missouri, increasing 65 per cent, far outstripped the growth of the state which was 23.6 per cent. The diocese of West Missouri was set up in 1890.

By 1890 Kansas City, Kansas, had multiplied its population twelve times, and Wichita six times. The Church's communicants in Kansas increased 66 per cent.

Denver tripled in population and the Church in Colorado did even better, increasing 300 per cent. Bishop Spalding was something of a financial genius, and Colorado became a diocese in 1887.

The mountain states generally, except Nevada which lost population, experienced swift increases, doubling and tripling in population. Although Utah gained but 46 per cent, Salt Lake City doubled the number of its inhabitants. The Church in the whole region witnessed encouraging increases, but the number of communicants was small to start with, and all but Colorado and Montana were destined to remain missionary districts.

On the Pacific Coast the state of Washington had a fantastic growth of 375 per cent in ten years. Seattle was a small town of 3,500 in 1880; it increased twelve times to 43,000 in 1890. Tacoma and Spokane were not even listed in the 1880 census. In 1890 the former numbered 36,000; the latter, 20,000. The Church increased 500 per cent.

Portland, Oregon, increased two and a half times from 17,500 in 1880 to 46,000 in 1890. The diocese of Oregon was organized in 1889, the Church having grown 200 per cent in the decade.

<sup>9</sup>*The growth in communicants for this decade is based on the returns to the General Conventions of 1880 and 1892. While not strictly comparable with the United States population figures for 1880 and 1890, they are sufficiently so to show the trend.*

California as a whole had but a 40 per cent increase in population but the fame of southern California's climate had begun to spread. Los Angeles quadrupled and San Diego increased six times in population. The Church increased 200 per cent.

The story was much the same in the Southwest. Dallas almost quadrupled in population; Fort Worth more than tripled. The Church's one diocese and two missionary districts in Texas showed a combined increase in communicants of 82 per cent, whereas the state of Texas increased but 40 per cent in population.

Arkansas gained but 40 per cent in population; the Church, 134 per cent in communicants. Louisiana increased but 19 per cent in population; the Church, 77 per cent in communicants.

In the East South Central section, all of the states were under the national average of increase (25.5%) in population, but their cities grew extensively. In Tennessee, Chattanooga and Knoxville more than doubled in population; Memphis almost doubled. Although the increase of the state's population was under 15 per cent, the Church's communicants increased 83 per cent. Church growth in other dioceses of this section were: Kentucky, 65.4 per cent; Alabama, 64.1 per cent; Mississippi, 34.4 per cent.

The population of Florida increased 45.2 per cent, but the Church's extraordinary growth there—185.7 per cent increase in communicants—ranked it fourth among all of the dioceses of the Church.

The Church's growth in communicants as a whole during this decade of the Eighties was a net increase of 55.8 per cent. Of the 27 dioceses (not counting missionary districts) which exceeded this rate, only Newark (109.5%), New Jersey (76.3%), Massachusetts (71.5%), Long Island (67.5%), and Rhode Island (64.1%) were in the East. The reasons for these exceptions are fairly clear. The three dioceses of Newark, New Jersey, and Long Island benefitted from the metropolitan expansion of New York City; and, in the case of the diocese of New Jersey, from that of Philadelphia as well. Massachusetts and Rhode Island profited from the immigration of English mill workers.

### THE DARKNESS BEFORE THE DAWN

Historians, generally, ridicule the popular saying, "It is darkest just before the dawn," as being more false than true when applied to historical processes. For the most part they are right. But, in so far as the growth of the Episcopal Church within the last 100 years is concerned, the old saying is not far from the truth.

The cumulative effects of 50 years of mounting immigration, mostly non-Anglican, had already begun to show themselves in the rate of the

Church's growth. The 14½ million (14,685,093) immigrants of 50 years (1841-1890) and their numerous progeny, had brought the decennial rate of communicant increase down almost 25 per cent (79.3% for the Thirties versus 55.8% for the Eighties); and the decennial gain in ratio of population to 1 communicant had declined 80 points: a net gain of 108.2 points in the Thirties versus a net gain of only 28.6 in the Eighties. And, as we have seen, the growth of the Church in the Eighties was exceptional, not having been equalled in percentage increase of communicants since the Forties.

Now, after 1890, the rate of the Church's growth drops like a plummet. The decennial increase in communicants declines from 55.8 per cent in 1890 to 39.7 per cent in 1900 (16.1% lower); to 25.2 per cent in 1910 (30.6% lower than in 1890); to 15.4 per cent in 1920 (40.4% lower than in 1890). The year 1920 was the lowest point in the last 100 years for decennial percentage increase in communicants.

The record of the ratio of population to one communicant almost parallels that of decennial percentage increase, except that it was even more precipitate. A gain of 28 ratio points in the Eighties falls to 16 in the Nineties; to 3½ points in the first decade of the 20th century; and to less than 1 point in the second decade ending 1920. Here again, as in the decennial percentage increase, 1920 is the low water mark in the last 100 years.

But why should anyone be surprised? Before 1890 it had taken 50 years for 14½ million immigrants to enter this country. In only 40 years after 1890, 22¼ million immigrants, mostly from southern and eastern Europe, had come:

1891-1900 . . . . .	3,687,564
1901-1910 . . . . .	8,795,386
1911-1920 . . . . .	5,735,811
1921-1930 . . . . .	4,107,209
 Total, 40 years . . . . .	 22,325,970

This torrent of 22¼ million immigrants in 40 years, of whom 16 million had come from continental Europe, represented 37.3 per cent of the net increase in population of the United States during the two-score years, 1890-1930.

Stated in still another way, the reality was even more appalling. In 150 years (1780-1930), some 38 million immigrants came to this country. But during 30 years (1900-1930) of that century and a half, about one-half (18,638,406, or 49.0 per cent) of the total number poured in. And these 18½ million immigrants represented almost 40 per cent of the total net increase in the nation's population during those three

decades. Thus the nation was called upon to absorb in 30 years almost as many immigrants as it had previously been given 120 years to absorb.

It was, in very truth, darkest just before the dawn. In the night of World War I, the first glimmer of light began to be visible. The dawn came with the Johnson Act\* of 1924 which had a two-fold purpose: (1) to reduce the number of immigrants so as to afford an opportunity for assimilation; (2) to allow such future immigration only as will preserve a reasonable degree of homogeneity in the population of the United States. Said the author of the act:

"The myth of the melting pot has been discredited . . .  
The day of unalloyed welcome to all peoples, the day of indiscriminate acceptance of all races, has definitely ended."

It seems certain that the Immigration Act of 1924, with the modifications of the National Origins Act of 1929 to preserve the existing racial proportions of the American people, was an epochal event in American history, marking a turning point as full of economic and social meaning as was the passing of the frontier about 1890.

Few of us realized the significance of this act for the growth of the Episcopal Church, just as few of us grasped the paralyzing effect of unrestricted immigration on the rate of the Church's growth since 1890 and the dark future for this Church if such immigration had continued much longer.

As we have indicated at the beginning of this essay, the turn of the tide is already marked. The Episcopal Church makes its strongest appeal to the native born among the unchurched population. When immigration is a little or no factor in the growth of population, the Church's ratio of population to one communicant improves decisively. While in the last decade, 1930-40, the net gain in communicants was only 15.7 per cent (not as large as that of the preceding decade, 1920-30, which was 17.4 per cent), yet the points gained in ratio of population to 1 communicant between 1930 and 1940 were 7.1; whereas the preceding decade, 1920-30, with a higher decennial percentage increase in communicants, had a net gain of only 1.1 ratio points. What is the explanation of the seeming contradiction? Immigration was out of the picture as an element in the growth of population between 1930 and 1940; it was still very much in the picture between 1920 and 1930 to the extent of more than 4 million immigrants.

\**The writer is not to be understood as approving this Act in all its parts. The total exclusion of all Orientals was both unnecessary and unfortunate, and not in accordance with standards of Christian justice.*

The future for our Church's growth on this score is then the most hopeful it has been for 100 years. Moreover, the Episcopal Church has proved in a countless number of cases that it has an appeal to the descendants of foreign parentage, given time for the forces of assimilation to do their work.

But three words of caution should be noted: (1) World War II is already disrupting normal parish life and probably will bring a decline in the number of confirmations as did World War I. (2) Moral laxity will probably follow this war as it has followed every war of any proportions. (3) The dawn of 1930 is not the dawn of 1830. That year, a century earlier, opened on a nation whose population was almost wholly composed of native stock. 1930 opened on a nation almost one-third of whose population was foreign white stock, that is, the foreign born plus those born of foreign or mixed parentage.

The unchurched among this foreign white stock is one of the Episcopal Church's frontiers of the future and its opportunity.

## HISTORY OF THE MISSIONARY DISTRICT OF SOUTHERN BRAZIL *By the Rt. Rev. Wm. M. M. Thomas\**

THE CALL FROM BRAZIL AS HEARD AT THE VIRGINIA SEMINARY

THE students of the Virginia Seminary at daily prayers were accustomed to see in cabinets against the walls of Prayer Hall the pictures of the first and other missionaries to Greece, Liberia, Japan and China. They were meant to be and were in fact a constant reminder of the Lord's command to go into all the world as His messengers to teach and to baptize. The first missions of our Church owed their inception to the enthusiasm of young men pursuing their studies on the sacred Hill. The spirit of missions was kept alive by constant reference to the need of fulfilling the Lord's command, in class-room and in conversation, by the Missionary Society and by visits of missionaries from domestic and foreign fields. One could not escape from the missionary atmosphere.

It was this pervading spirit that created a desire to go out to some new field, make a new start somewhere, and thus contribute to the extension of the Kingdom of God, that was responsible for the movement that led to the starting of the Church's work in Brazil. This fact needs to be stressed because it not only characterized the promoters of the plan, but was the guiding principle of the pioneers for forty years. "It is not too much to say that few of the graduates of the Virginia Seminary have failed to catch its missionary spirit, or to make their churches helpers in the missionary cause." (Theological Seminary in Virginia, Wallace E. Rollins, D. D., p. 251.) "No student could leave the Virginia Seminary without hearing of the claims of foreign missions. Now it was brought before him by the biography of some alumnus, like the saintly C. Colden Hoffman, who laid down his life on the fever-smitten coast of Western Africa; now it was burnt into him by the fiery appeals of the elder Boone or some other returned missionary; now it came up in the class-room, or in the devotional meeting, or in the special intercessions for missions." (Hist. Theo. Sem. Va., Carl E. Grammer, p. 350.) This characteristic atmosphere, in which all the inhabitants of the Hill lived and moved, must be counted as the

\*Missionary Bishop of Southern Brazil.

first source of the mission to Brazil. The second source according to Dr. Grammer was the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance, which the students of the Virginia Seminary joined in 1880. When an annual meeting of this alliance was held in Alexandria, 1887, all the students of the Virginia Seminary were able to attend its sessions. The Alliance met in Alexandria on the invitation of Mr. John Poyntz Tyler (afterwards bishop of North Dakota) and Mr. George Gordon Smeade. They had been as delegates to the previous meeting. These two students succeeded in having two Presbyterians, Mr. Forman, of the Union Theological Seminary, and Mr. Wilder, of Princeton, visit the Seminary for the purpose of preparing the way for the meeting of the Alliance.

The special impetus that prepared the way for the founding of the Brazil Mission was largely due to these two visitors. So testified Mr. Tyler and Mr. R. A. Roderick. The latter says: "They stirred up an enthusiasm on the subject of Missions such as had not been known in the Seminary since the days of the elder Bishop Boone . . . The Brazilian Mission owed its origin to that missionary spirit aroused by these two men; so, I say, in the providence of God, they were the beginning of the Mission." (Hist. Theo. Sem. in Va., pp. 351, 2.)

The immediate result of the meeting of the Alliance and of the missionary enthusiasm aroused thereby was the resolution of a number of students to go out as foreign missionaries. This zeal was, however, doomed to suffer a serious setback when it was discovered that the very men who offered for the foreign field could not meet the requirements of the Board. The medical examination was most stringent; no one over thirty was accepted, the Chinese and Japanese languages seemed to bar others.

When I reached Rio de Janeiro immediately after my consecration as suffragan bishop of Southern Brazil in March, 1926, I was greeted at the Stranger's Hotel by a D. McLaren, Presbyterian missionary, who told me that he was largely instrumental in establishing the Episcopal Church in Brazil. The story is graphically told by Dr. Grammer. "Now it so happened that the daughter of the Rev. Ashbel Green Simonton, the pioneer missionary to Brazil from the United States, was living near the Seminary with her aunts, Miss Annie and Miss Eliza Murdock, Presbyterian ladies, whose religious influence upon the successive classes of students who visited at their home should not be omitted in any record of the spiritual forces of those days.

Through these ladies there came into the community a copy of "The Brazilian Leaflet," a little paper published by the Rev. D. McLaren, of

Brooklyn, in the interest of the Presbyterian Mission in that field, whither he had sent a gifted and devoted son." . . .

Mr. Jefferson R. Taylor, one of the students subscribed to this little paper and based a report to the Missionary Society on the information it supplied. The subject of his talk was "Missions in the Countries Colonized by the Latin Race," with special reference to Brazil. The students resolved to found a mission in the Empire of Brazil.

It was not so easy to carry out such a resolution. The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, says Dr. Grammer, was clearly out of the question; it would not consider the sending of recruits to Brazil. An appeal was made to the American Church Missionary Society. Dr. Grammer, at the request of the students of the Virginia Seminary, appeared in person before the Society, which was in session in Ascension Church, Washington, D. C., informed it of the desire of the students to open a mission in Brazil and petitioned the Society to take charge of it.

Notwithstanding the feeling of utter hopelessness revealed in the discussions, notwithstanding the lack of funds and the evident purpose to close the work of the Society, still the spirit of those who felt called to a new work was not daunted. Dr. Grammer proposed "that the Executive Committee be requested to consider the possibility of undertaking work in the Empire of Brazil." This was on November 12, 1888. The motion was discussed the next day, when Bishop Peterkin was in the chair. One of the students, Mr. James W. Morris, spoke on behalf of the students, though, as he declared, he purposed going to China. The resolution was unanimously adopted. But the Executive Committee had the final decision and Mr. Newbold, the secretary of the Society, gave little hope of speedy action. Deliberation, caution and conservatism were to be expected. The students were moved by none of these attitudes, but were impelled by enthusiasm, youth, and, as they believed, by the Holy Spirit, to go forward to new service in a new field. Mr. Morris, president of the Students' Missionary Society, was responsible for the sending to New York of two students, Messrs. Clark and Roderick, to present in person their appeal to the Executive Committee of the Society. The Committee met on December 10, 1888, and the two young students were given twenty minutes to make their plea. The fervor and sincerity of their appeal had a telling effect on the members of the committee. They were especially encouraged at hearing there were other prospective co-workers and money promised for Mr. Roderick's salary. There are those who date the founding of the Brazil Mission from the prayer-meeting that followed the appeal. It is recorded that on December 10, 1888, "The American Church Mission-

ary Society, under the resolution of the Board of Managers, approving of our entering foreign fields where they are not engaged, does hereby take charge of the work of our Church in the Empire of Brazil." This date should "be marked as the birthday of the Brazil Mission." Mr. Roderick and Mr. Clark were appointed on March 19, 1889.

The time that elapsed between this momentous decision and the departure of the first missionaries, nearly nine months, was one of disappointments, discouragement, setbacks, mingled with rare determination and faith. The students of the Virginia Seminary did much canvassing for interest, cooperation and funds.

While the American Church Missionary Society was doing its part, so also were the Missionary Society of Richmond, Virginia, and the Fairfax Brazilian Missionary Society.

Men who were destined to be noted missionaries and bishops were leaders in the movement to lend support to the launching of the Brazil Mission. There were the Rev. Lewis W. Burton, of St. John's Church, Richmond, afterwards bishop of Lexington; Bishop Whittle, of Virginia, ; Dr. Carl E. Grammer, of the Virginia Seminary, and, as Dr. Grammer writes, "the mild and saintly Peterkin, the scholarly and sympathetic Minnigerode, the practical and clear-headed Dashiell, the judicious Newton, together with the Rev. Dr. Sprigg, the Rev. J. B. Funsten and the Rev. B. M. Randolph." Two of these were afterwards bishops—Newton and Funsten.

In a very short time, unfortunately, Roderick suffered an accident which left him with a weak knee, and Clark's health showed unfavorable symptoms. After interest, money and recruits had been found, it seemed as though the project might have to be abandoned.

It was the spirit of Virginia, however, that made the students feel that if God did not call certain men he would call others. It was Mr. James W. Morris, who, having resolved to go to China and having been accepted by the Board of Missions, now felt that his call was to go rather to Brazil, filling the breach, conserving the enthusiasm already aroused. When the Board refused to release him from his promise to go to China, and to transfer him to the auxiliary Society, he felt compelled to persist in his resolution. On May 15, 1889, the American Church Missionary Society dropped Roderick and Clark, and received the applications of Morris and Kinsolving. The Society having decided that at least two men must be sent, there was again a pause for God's leading. His hand was laid upon the brilliant Lucien Lee Kinsolving, who wired the Society saying in effect: "Send me with Morris."

Mr. Morris did not wish to see the idea of the work to be undertaken in Brazil abandoned. If there were not others to go he would

go alone. Mr. Kinsolving, always emotional by nature, came to his decision to stand by the resolutions taken as he stood by the tomb of Bishop Payne, of Liberia, in the little cemetery on the Seminary grounds. Reading on Payne's tomb, "He gave thirty-three years to the mission field," he resolved to do as much.

With these two promised recruits it was hoped that the enterprise would be launched. They were ordained deacons by Bishop Whittle on June 29, 1889. Bishop Kinsolving, of Texas, was the preacher. In order to avoid any delay in their departure, they were advanced to the priesthood by Bishop Whittle on August 4, in Grace Church, Richmond.

#### THE MISSIONARIES EMBARK

They embarked on the night of August 31, on the new steamer *Allianca*, and were "accompanied to the ship by many brethren." (Note: So wrote Bishop L. L. Kinsolving; Dr. Morris gives the same date in a letter written to me in November of last year. The official records in the minutes of the American Church Missionary Society gives September 1st as the date. The Historical Notes of the Brazilian Episcopal Church give August 31.)

They reached Rio de Janeiro on September 26. Thence they proceeded to Santos, where they arrived September 30, going up to Sao Paulo. Losing no time they went to a small town called Cruzeiro, in the State of Sao Paulo, just half way between Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. After spending here six months in language study under a young Presbyterian minister, they went down to Rio and embarked for Rio Grande. They were accompanied by a young Brazilian, Boaventura de Souza de Oliveira, with his wife and two children. Of Boaventura Dr. Morris writes: "He had been teaching in the village school, had a fairly good general education, was deeply read in the Bible and especially equipped to show the strong points of salvation by grace."

They arrived at Porto Alegre on April 21, 1890, a national holiday dedicated to the memory of Tiradentes, proto-martyr of Brazilian independence, hanged in 1792. Porto Alegre, with a population of about 50,000, was the capital of the state of Rio Grande.

#### SOUTHERN BRAZIL

Southern Brazil comprises, roughly speaking, that part of Brazil which lies to the south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Here are the states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catharina, Paraná, Sao Paulo and the Federal District. A map of this section if placed on one of the United

States would cover a large part of the Atlantic coast line. Rio de Janeiro would be at Boston, Santos at New York, Porto Alegre at Wilmington, N. C., and Jaguarao at Savannah, Ga., while the western outposts of Uruguayana and Allianca would correspond to Chattanooga and Pittsburg. Southern Brazil would cover no fewer than twenty-eight dioceses. It contains, in fact, about two dozen dioceses of the Roman Communion.

It were well to realize what was and is the population of Southern Brazil, fifty years ago and now. Figures are based on the Encyclopaedia Britannica for 1890, on the "Geographia Atlas do Brazil" by Homem de Mello for 1911, confessedly approximate, and the official census, which we can consider fairly accurate, for 1940.

*Population by States and Years*

<i>States</i>	<i>1890</i>	<i>1911</i>	<i>1940</i>
Rio Grande do Sul .....	897,455	1,300,000	3,270,000
Santa Catharina .....	238,769	400,000	1,070,000
Paraná .....	249,491	360,000	1,100,000
Sao Paulo .....	1,384,753	2,800,000	7,160,000
Federal District .....	522,651	900,000	1,860,000
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Totals for Southern Brazil..	3,338,119	5,760,000	14,460,000
<hr/>			
All Brazil .....	14,333,915	21,400,000	44,332,000

*Population of the Capitals of the Above States*

<i>Cities</i>	<i>States</i>	<i>1890</i>	<i>1911</i>	<i>1940</i>
Porto Alegre	R. G. S.	52,421	110,000	370,000
Florianopolis .....	S. C.	25,000	20,000	55,000
Curitiba	Paraná	20,000	50,000	130,000
Sao Paulo	S. P.	64,934	320,000	1,275,000
Rio	F. D.	522,651	900,000	1,860,000
<hr/>				
		685,002	1,400,000	3,690,000

<i>Area in</i> <i>square miles</i>	<i>Guia Levi</i>	<i>Homem de Mello</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia</i> <i>Brittanica</i>
Rio Grande do Sul ...	110,141	92,355	91,310
Santa Catharina .....	36,675	43,166	28,620
Paraná .....	77,180	73,477	85,430
Sao Paulo .....	95,459	101,892	112,280
Distrito Federal ....	450	431	540
<hr/>			
	319,905	311,318	318,180

It is to be noted that the two states that lie between Rio Grande do Sul and Sao Paulo have a much smaller population than the two larger states. The population has about quadrupled in the fifty years, the largest increase being in the state of Sao Paulo.

### THE BEGINNINGS

One wonders how the young missionaries found enough to do to fill all their time. There were no communicants, no service books, no churches, no organization. They were pioneers in a strange land, among strange people, with only faith and hope to guide them.

They soon met one Vicente Brandi, a Presbyterian who was conducting a private primary school in which on Sundays he had a Sunday School and an evening service. Vicente Brandi had come to Porto Alegre on invitation of the Methodist school there. He, however, soon established a private school of his own on Floresta Street. The missionaries attended this Sunday School and these evening services.

They rented a large house on Voluntarios da Patria Street, from one Gervasio Sarmento. The house belonged to Snr. Zeferino Fraga, of Santa Rita. One room was fitted up as a chapel. Morris, Kinselving, Brandi and Boaventura and family all lived in it. This put the missionaries in intimate contact with the Fraga family, which had a large part in the early years of the mission.

The two missionaries continued their studies under Boaventura, took some part in Brandi's school and visited families under his direction.

While services were being conducted and hymns sung in the chapel on Rua Voluntarios da Patria the Fragas and Sarmentos (Mrs. Sarmento was a Fraga) listened from the ground floor below and became interested. From Santa Rita there often came Antonio Fraga, brother to Mrs. Sarmento. Once he came in a hostile mood, resolved to cause trouble and break up the meeting of this group of heretical Protestants, under whose altar there lurked no less a personage than Satan himself. But as he listened he saw no devil and was impressed by the earnestness of the speakers and the nature of their message. There appeared, too, young Americo Cabral, married to another of Antonio Fraga's sisters. He, too, became interested in what to him was a new presentation of the gospel. My own frequent conversations with Fraga and Cabral convinced me of how happy they were to have learned, what they had not known or understood before, that salvation through Jesus was free to all through faith and repentance.

Fraga is still living. He became the country parson, and still is, though retired and in a precarious state of health. Yet he is always

ready to serve, by preaching, baptizing, or in any other way that may give him an opportunity to preach the gospel of peace and salvation. Four congregations owe their existence largely to his work. Snr. Gervasio Sarmento was for years a member of the Council of Advice; his son, Dr. Antero Sarmento, still is. Cabral was missionary arch-deacon for many years. Many trips on horseback both Bishop Kinsolving and myself had with him over mountain and prairie. He was ever a genial companion, loyal to Christ and his Church, zealous missionary, and resolved to bring the poor to a knowledge of salvation through Jesus.

After the hot weather of the Brazilian summer of January-February, 1891, Brandi's school was moved to the Sarmento house on Voluntarios da Patria, nº 387, then called Caminho Novo. The large front room was used for the school on week days and chapel on Sundays. Morris and Kinsolving taught in the school, though most of the work was done by Boaventura and Brandi.

Permission had been received, Dr. Morris doesn't say whether from the Society or from Bishop Peterkin, to receive Brandi as a catechist. He was accepted as candidate for Holy Orders on August 28, 1891.

Public services were begun about Trinitytide in 1890, with afternoon services. The first was on June 1, 1890. The Rev. Mr. Morris preached in Portuguese and the Rev. Mr. Kinsolving read the service; it consisted of lessons, creed and prayers.

Printed announcements of these services were distributed by the school children in the neighborhood of the chapel. There were no prayer books and the congregations, varied and uninstructed, would hardly have appreciated or used them if they had had them. The ritual consisted of hymns, scripture reading, prayers and short sermon. The attendance and interest were encouraging. Dr. Morris writes of this initial period: "I was never busier and happier in the work, though so limited and simple."

### FIRST RESULTS

This year was marked by small but, for eventual results, momentous events. The Rev. Mr. Kinsolving was given special leave to return to the United States to be married to Miss Alice Brown, of Mount Holly, New Jersey, sister-in-law to the Rev. Dr. Crawford, afterwards dean of the Virginia Seminary. To her special knowledge and gifts the future Church in Brazil was to owe much. She proved to be an efficient organizer of women's societies, sewing and embroidery classes, choir practices, and was the founder of the Woman's Auxiliary in Brazil.

This year also a small Presbyterian work in the city of Rio Grande was surrendered to the Episcopal Church. Dr. Morris was left alone and took Vicente Brandi to Rio Grande and left him in charge as catechist, going down himself every month to superintend the work. In September new recruits arrived, the Rev. Wm. Cabell Brown and Mrs. Brown, the Rev. John Gaw Meem and Miss Mary Packard. Missions had been established at two points in Porto Alegre, in the country district of Santa Rita do Rio dos Sinos and at Rio Grande. Three men had been appointed catechists—Vicente Brandi at Rio Grande, Boaventura at Santa Rita and Cabral at the school in Porto Alegre.

In the following year, 1892, to the above missions were added one at Pelotas. The Rev. Mr. Meem was there, with Snr. Antonio Fraga as catechist; the Kinsolvings were at Rio Grande, with Brandi as catechist; the Browns had charge of the Chapel of the Good Shepherd, on Rua da Ponte, in Porto Alegre; Mr. Morris had charge of the school and chapel, with Miss Packard and A. V. Cabral as assistants; Boaventura was at Santa Rita. The relative position and distances of these missions from one another can best be seen by superimposing the map of Lagoa dos Patos upon one of the Chesapeake Bay. Porto Alegre will be over Baltimore, Md., Rio Grande over Norfolk, Va., and Pelotas over Yorktown, Va. Santa Rita is about 25 miles from Porto Alegre and was not easy of access at that time, as it is not today.

Such was the setup of the mission and such was the progress achieved by the time the Rt. Rev. George W. Peterkin, of West Virginia, visited it in 1893.

#### EPISCOPAL SUPERVISION

The Brazil Mission as conceived and established by the pioneer missionaries was at first under the direction of the bishop of Virginia. The missionaries had been sent out by the American Church Missionary Society, which was an auxiliary to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society.

After the work had gotten fairly well started and shown signs of progress and permanency, the presiding bishop, the Rt. Rev. John Williams, on February 16, 1893, appointed the Rt. Rev. George W. Peterkin, bishop of West Virginia, to the episcopal oversight of the Church's work in Brazil. In his letter he says: "I shall be very glad to appoint my dear brother of West Virginia to take charge of the work in Brazil, and will urge him to do so." Many bishops expressed their approval of the work in Brazil. Their letters are recorded in various numbers of the "Echo."

When Bishop Peterkin visited the mission in 1893, he gave special authority to the committee which was then and still is called the "Standing Committee." It was on Bishop Peterkin's advice and with his consent that Bishop Stirling, of the Falkland Islands, visited the mission in 1897.

Reports of work were sent regularly, first to Bishop Whittle, then to Bishop Peterkin, and always to the American Church Missionary Society. Though there was no resident bishop the Church in Brazil was in fact always under episcopal supervision.

#### THE FIRST EPISCOPAL VISITATION

Bishop Peterkin arrived in Rio Grande on August 23, 1893, spending a week there. He attended services in the Chapel of our Saviour that night, preaching by interpreter to a fine congregation. He held several confirmations, examined Snr. Brandi and on Monday, August 28, ordained him deacon.

Thence he went by train a couple of hours to Pelotas, holding two confirmations at the Chapel of the Redeemer and another at an outstation called Areal. It was at this mission that a dozen years later I preached my first sermon in Portuguese. The bishop ordained to the diaconate Snr. Antonio M. de Fraga on Sunday, September 3. He finally reached Porto Alegre on September 6. Confirmations were held in the two chapels, Trinity and Good Shepherd. On September 10 Snr. Americo Vespucio Cabral was ordained deacon in the Chapel of the Good Shepherd. On Wednesday, September 13, the bishop went to Santa Rica. He was accompanied by all the clergy, and met by the Rev. Mr. Fraga, who being from Santa Rita seems to have gone ahead to prepare the reception. They went up the River dos Sinos by small steamer and were met at the landing by the whole Fraga clan on horseback. Riding through a pelting rain, they reached the chapel, which was filled to overflowing. Snr. Boaventura was ordained deacon and forty-four candidates were confirmed. The bishop and the clergy rode back as far as Canoas (it must have taken two or three hours), where they took the train back to Porto Alegre.

Bishop Peterkin arrived at Porto Alegre just as the revolution of 1893 was in progress. Having gone through the Civil War in the States the situation he met in Brazil was not to him particularly disturbing. He was delayed in getting off from Porto Alegre a couple of weeks, which were God-sent and well-spent. He held more confirmations, attended the meeting of the committee on the translation of the Prayer Book, set up temporary canons, suggested courses of study

for candidates for the ministry and performed the marriage ceremony of the Rev. Mr. Morris to Miss Estelle Tweedle.

Able to leave Porto Alegre on September 28, he embarked from Rio de Janeiro October 19. It had taken over two months for him to visit four or five places. But he had ordained four deacons and confirmed 142 persons—30 in Rio Grande, 6 in Sao José do Norte, 25 in Pelotas, 36 in Porto Alegre and 44 in Santa Rita. He had given advice and encouragement and had completed, in a way, the organization of the Church.

#### THE SECOND EPISCOPAL VISITATION

It was three and half years before the young Church had a second episcopal visitation. On July 2, 1896, the Rev. John G. Meem, at Bishop Peterkin's request, wrote to the Rt. Rev. Dr. Waite H. Stirling inviting him to visit the Brazil Mission when it would be most convenient for him to do so. Bishop Stirling was bishop of the Falkland Islands and had charge of all the English congregations in South America. He resided in Buenos Aires. This visit was made in May, 1897. The Kinsolvings were on furlough; the Browns were in Rio Grande; the Meems in Pelotas; the Morrises and Miss Packard in Porto Alegre. Unfortunately, the promising young deacon, Boaventura, had been deposed by Bishop Peterkin. But the other deacons were doing yeoman's work, Brande at Trinity Chapel, Porto Alegre, Cabral at Grace Chapel, Viamao, Fraga at Santa Rita.

Bishop Stirling arrived in Porto Alegre on May 9, accompanied by the Rev. Messrs. Brown, Meem and Cabral. It being Sunday he officiated at an English service in the Chapel of the Good Shepherd, and that night in the same chapel confirmed a class of thirty-three. On the following day he went, accompanied by the clergy, to Santa Rita. It was raining, but apparently harder than on the day Bishop Peterkin visited the place, so that there was a small congregation to meet him. There was a class of seven only for confirmation. On May 11, a beautiful day, he confirmed three English girls in the Chapel of the Good Shepherd and three Brazilians in Trinity Chapel. The next day, May 12, he visited Viamao, thirteen miles by carriage, confirming fourteen in Grace Chapel. All the clergy accompanied him here also. On this day in Trinity Chapel he examined the three deacons—Vicente Brandi, Americo V. Cabral and Antonio M. de Fraga—and on the 13th, after celebrating Holy Communion in English, he advanced them to the priesthood.

The clergy went with the bishop to Rio Grande and Pelotas at the southern end of the lake. Of the services held in these towns

Dr. Morris writes: "Sunday, May 16, was a full day at the Chapel of the Saviour, Rio Grande; forty-two persons were confirmed in the morning; there was a fair English congregation at evensong; and at night evening prayer, at which one was confirmed, was a grand service, at which Vicente Brandi preached with power."

The following day they all went with the bishop to Pelotas. Nine persons were confirmed at a place called Boa Vista, and at night in the Chapel of the Redeemer in the presence of a great congregation forty-five persons received the laying on of hands.

#### LAMBETH AND THE BRAZILIAN CHURCH

In the Lambeth Conference of 1897, resolution 31 is thus worded: "that we express our sympathy with the Reformation movement in Brazil, and trust that it may develop in accordance with sound principles." This resolution was doubtless the result of the report of the committee appointed to consider and report upon the subject of reformation movements on the continent of Europe and elsewhere. This committee, of which the Rt. Rev. William Croswell Doane was chairman, reports thus of the work in Brazil: "The clergy who minister there are under the direction of the bishops of Virginia and West Virginia. There are many evidences of growth, and of development on the orderly lines of Catholic usage and law. The bishop of the Falkland Islands, who recently visited the congregations in Brazil, was most favorably impressed by the devotion of the clergy (seven in number) and the interest of the people, and expresses his belief that the work is good, and is preparing the way for still greater good."

#### THE FIRST TEN YEARS

Now the four American and three Brazilian priests were to start another period of activity, unceasingly looking forward to the day when the Church in the United States would send them a bishop to be their chief pastor and lead them on to greater triumphs.

Let us take stock of the results accomplished in the first decade.

The five missionaries secured the four (soon reduced to three) national helpers. Missions and schools were established in the three coastal towns of Rio Grande, Pelotas and Porto Alegre, and in Viamão and Santa Rita, with a number of outlying stations. The two visiting bishops held confirmations at each mission, examined candidates and ordained them. Two small country chapels were built.

In Porto Alegre the first public service was held on June 1, 1890; from time to time missions were inaugurated at various points of the

city. on Rua da Cavalhada, June 8, on Rua Riachuelo in August. It seems that the first celebration of the Lord's Supper was on May 3, 1891, with five persons communing; it being only then that a sufficient number could be gathered together for the purpose. The Rev. Mr. Kinsolving was the celebrant. For six months or more the Communion was celebrated, more or less privately, each month, one or more new persons being added to the list of communicants. Not until January 10, 1892, was this service considered a public celebration. On that occasion, in Trinity Chapel, on Caminho Novo, twenty persons received their communion. The Rev. Mr. Morris was assisted by one of the newer missionaries, the Rev. Mr. Meem. Among the twenty who communed were representatives of the Episcopal Churches in the United States and Brazil, of the Anglican, Scotch Presbyterian, Lutheran, Methodist, Baptist and Roman Churches. One Mohammedan and several indifferent were present. Three years later Bishop Stirling confirmed 39 persons in Porto Alegre. On May 6, 1892, the Rev. Mr. Morris, assisted by the Rev. Mr. Meem, celebrated Holy Communion in the rented chapel at Santa Rita, twenty-one persons receiving.

In August, 1891, a small congregation of twenty persons of the Presbyterian mission under the Rev. M. A. de Menezes, at Rio Grande, were received at their request and by agreement with their Church authorities into communion with the Episcopal Church by the Rev. Mr. Morris and Mr. Brandi. On the 20th of October, 1891, the Rev. and Mrs. Wm. Cabell Brown, the Rev. John Gaw Meem and Miss Mary Packard arrived in Rio Grande. On October 26 Morris, Brown, Meem and Brandi met with the new congregation and elected a vestry of three and the Rev. Mr. Brown took charge of the congregation. Mr. Kinsolving had gone to the United States to be married. He arrived in Rio Grande on May 15, 1892, and took over the work there. The Browns went to Porto Alegre. It is significant of the need and of the manner in which the message and work of the missionaries were received that when Bishop Peterkin arrived in August of the following year he conducted in Rio Grande eight services, confirming thirty candidates and six more in the village of Sao José do Norte, across the river. In the three years that followed no less than forty-three persons were prepared for confirmation, to be presented to Bishop Stirling on May 16, 1897.

On September 15, 1892, a year after the arrival of the second group of missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Morris and Meem went to Pelotas with Mr. Antonio Fraga. On the 9th of October the first service was held, directed by Mr. Meem, who preached. On October 20, Mr. Fraga, who had been admitted as a catechist, preached his first sermon.

He has been preaching ever since. A month later, on November 20, Mr. Meem organized a Sunday School. By Christmas he had secured a room on "Praca Regeneracao," afterwards called "Republic." In the "Echo" (Vol. 4, no 1, p. 4) there is an interesting picture of a multitude of people accompanying a funeral as it passed the chapel, seen in the left foreground. It was the funeral, on February 14, 1896, of a Dr. Barcellos, highly esteemed as a friend of the poor. When Mr. Meem wrote the accompanying article, he little dreamed that later a monument would be erected in the public square to the memory of this doctor and that the dedicatory oration would be delivered by one of our clergy, himself a grandson of Dr. Barcellos, the Rev. Joao Baptista Barcellos da Cunha.

Bishop Peterkin confirmed here twenty-five candidates and Bishop Stirling fifty-four. But before these confirmations, the Rev. Mr. Meem, assisted by the Rev. Mr. Kinsolving, held the first communion service. These first services show how greatly the work of the missionaries was needed, what a real need their coming filled. At this service it is recorded that among the twenty-seven who received communion there were in addition members of the Brazilian and Anglican Episcopal Churches, representatives of the English Wesleyan, the Lutheran and Norwegian Communions.

With Viamao as a center the Rev. Americo V. Cabral was during most of these years travelling and preaching the gospel of salvation. He had received his first communion in the Episcopal Church on June 7, 1891, was received as catechist and candidate for Holy Orders on August 17, 1891. I can find no satisfactory record as to who received the first four candidates. In the historical notes, the fact is, however, recorded. It is recorded that Antonio M. de Fraga was received as catechist on July 15, 1892, and candidate on August 28. Vicente Brandi was accepted as a candidate on August 28, 1891.

#### SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT

##### *Men's Societies*

On April 5, 1892, a chapter of St. Andrew's Brotherhood was organized in Porto Alegre. It was not, however, long lived.

The pioneer organizer of Men's Societies was Americo V. Cabral. On February 11, 1900, he organized the "Legion of the Cross" at Trinity Church, Porto Alegre. Apparently the Brotherhood chapter no longer existed. The "Christian Militia" was founded in Pelotas, the "Brotherhood of St. Andrew" in Santa Maria, the "Young Men's Literary Society" in Rio Grande. A score or more of such societies

exist as purely parochial and independent organizations. They are active in Church work and contribute greatly to the spiritual and financial side of parish life.

The Brotherhood of St. Andrew as a diocesan institution began in 1935. On December 29 of that year the bishop admitted six young men as members of Ascension Chapter, and appointed the Rev. Martin Firth to visit various parishes on the invitation of the respective rectors to organize chapters. The result was gratifying. There are now eighteen chapters, the handbook is translated, and there is a board of directors which plans for growth and keeps the chapters in touch with one another. The "Cruz de Santo André" is published and monthly radio services sponsored.

The first Brotherhood Convention was held in Trinity Church, Porto Alegre, on April 26, 1938; a constitution was adopted and on April 30 presented to the council for its approval. Under the terms of this constitution it can be altered only with the approval of the council. The council also elects two of the clergy to act as advisers.

#### *The Woman's Auxiliary*

Very early in each mission a Women's Aid Society was organized. Each group was purely parochial, and there was no diocesan organization. In the council met in the Church of the Saviour, Rio Grande, in October, 1903, on the 5th day, the 22nd of October, by proposal made by Dr. J. G. Meem, the bishop was authorized to request his wife to bring about a federation of the Woman's Auxiliaries of the various parishes. This was effected in the 7th council, held in the Chapel of the Mediator, in Santa Maria, on October 23, 1905, when Mrs. Kinsolving presented her report and a constitution which after amendments was adopted. There were at the time eight branches. The following year these branches reported contributions totalling 7:352 milreis. Last year, 1941, 46 Auxiliary and 14 Junior Branches contributed 66:770 milreis.

#### *Prayer Book*

When the first missionaries arrived they had to devote no small time to translation of portions of the prayer book. They had to be content with pamphlets containing some of the services and a few psalms. A translation of the prayer book had been made years before, but it was out of print and, therefore, not available. Use was made of this translation, however, in the preparation of the new book.

So far as I can discover there are only two of these books extant. They were found by Bishop Kinsolving in Portugal. One of them is

in the archives of the Brazilian Church, the other at the Church Missions House in New York. This version was made by the Rev. Richard Holden, of Ohio, who in 1860 went to Pará to establish the work of this Church. He distributed Bibles and prayer books. There were no definite or lasting results of his effort, nor even any traces of it when Morris and Kinsolving arrived.

By the time that Bishop Peterkin made his visitation morning and evening prayer and the litany had been translated by Brown, Morris and Cabral. The service for Holy Communion had been translated by Brown and Cabral. Bishop Peterkin sat in on a number of meetings of the translation committee and gave helpful suggestions. A special convocation was called for June 11 and 12, 1896, to examine the translation by Brown with Cabral's assistance. This convocation delegated powers to a committee composed of Brown, Meem and Cabral to revise and complete their work. This was done on June 19, 1896. The complete book was printed in Philadelphia by the Bishop White Prayer Book Society in 1898. A second edition was printed in 1914. By 1920 there were no more books to be had and the plates had been destroyed. For ten years there were no books to be distributed at all. A revision committee set to work to revise the prayer book following the American Revision of 1928. The revision completed, an edition of 6,000 was printed in Pelotas in 1930, fulfilling an urgent need.

### *Sunday Schools*

It has been found possible to gather children and adults into an informal Sunday School when it would have been much more difficult to interest them in a formal service in which they cannot take part. It has been one of the notable phases of the work of the Church in Brazil that the number of teachers and pupils in the Sunday Schools has always equaled or exceeded the number of communicants, keeping pace with the increase of these year by year.

### *Church Extension*

For twenty years the missionaries and their Brazilian helpers confined their work to the one State of Rio Grande do Sul. In 1908 the Rev. Wm. C. Brown began the work in Rio de Janeiro. The first services were held in the Anglican Church in the evening. There were already a dozen communicants who had moved from the South to Rio. By the next year the Rev. Mr. Sergel joined the Rev. Dr. Brown, as also the Rev. Miguel Barcellos da Cunha, one of the more promising of the younger Brazilian clergy. A second mission was soon started.

and a third by the Rev. Mr. Sergel in Meyer, a populous suburb of Rio.

Within five years there were two churches with over fifty members each. Today six congregations have over five hundred communicants, and their contributions in Brazilian currency are twice that of the whole Church in 1908. In the capital are four Brazilian clergy and one missionary. The Church of the Redeemer is an old residence converted into a church by Dr. Meem. It has a good, new parish hall and verger's house, and plans are being made to replace the old building by a new church. Trinity Church with a good congregation has a fairly complete plant, church, hall and janitor's house. On a government island in the bay the simple chapel of the Transfiguration has been built for a congregation of retired and disabled soldiers and their families. St. Paul's Church, a beautiful gothic building, was consecrated on October 24, 1939. At other missions services are held in rented buildings.

In the City of Sao Paulo the work of our Church among Brazilians was started by the Rev. G. U. Krischke in 1924. On October 2 Bishop Kinsolving dedicated a chapel which had been rented and furnished. There were present at this ceremony Dr. Meem and the Rev. Messrs. Almeida and Ferraz from Rio, the Rev. Mr. Joseph Orton from Santos and, of course, the Rev. Mr. Krischke. There were present two of the Presbyterian ministers, Othoniel Motta and Alfredo Teixeira; at the service on the following day the Rev. José Ferraz made a welcoming speech in the name of the Presbyterian Church. On the next day the Rev. Dr. Waddell, president of Mackenzie College, made a much appreciated address, in which he expressed his pleasure that one of his former pupils had been chosen to organize the work in Sao Paulo. After such auspicious beginnings this should have developed into a strong and permanent work. But the Rev. Mr. Krischke was recalled to Trinity Church, Porto Alegre, in December of the same year. The Rev. S. Ferraz was transferred from Rio to Sao Paulo. After about ten years in charge he abandoned the ministry of the Brazilian Episcopal Church, and the work under him became extinct as an integral part of the Church.

However, the Rev. Joseph Orton with headquarters at Santos was organizing congregations, building chapels in Santos and at six outstations. The Rev. Mr. Sergel has reopened work in the city of Sao Paulo.

Then there is the Japanese Mission started by John Yasoji Ito in Sao Paulo in 1924. There are six Japanese clergy. Of these three were trained in the Southern Cross School and the Porto Alegre Semi-

nary. The first confirmation was held in St. Paul's Church (Anglican) on April 6, 1924, by Bishop Kinsolving. The visiting of forty Japanese stations requires upwards of four thousand miles of travelling.

In the State of Sao Paulo today there are 51 mission stations, of which 40 are Japanese. Communicants number 915, of which 619 are Japanese. Contributions in Brazilian currency are most gratifying, being for 1941 nearly 100,000 milreis. There are 15 chapels and 3 rectories.

During these fifty years, counting chapels and residences small and large, the Brazil Mission has built 58 churches, 18 parish halls, 9 school buildings, and 29 residences, of which 19 are for the clergy. The clergy number 42, including 2 bishops, and these maintain work in 129 places. Together with 37 lay readers and catechists they conducted in 1941 no less than 12,502 services. About 10,000 persons have been confirmed, which averages about 200 a year for the first fifty years. The average has been 340 during the last 10 years. A fair valuation of all Church property in dollars would be about \$700,000.

### *Institutions*

Emphasis was placed on evangelical work from the very start. Parochial schools were conducted largely to give the clergy occupation and to create contacts in places where this Church was unknown. It was not until 1912 that the Southern Cross School was established by the Rev. William M. M. Thomas. It has grown until it now has more than 300 pupils, two large buildings built in 1916 and 1930, and on the spacious grounds there are four residences and a well equipped athletic field.

St. Margaret's School for girls was started in Pelotas in a rented building in 1934 by Mrs. Charles H. C. Sergel, wife of one of our missionaries. Within a few years property was acquired and a building erected from a gift from the United Thank Offering of 1931. The present headmistress is D. Candida Leao, daughter of the Rev. J. B. Leao.

These two schools have government recognition and inspection.

An orphanage for girls, near Pelotas, was inaugurated February 16, 1936, and a home for aged people, at Bagé, was established a few years ago. The Church is planning to take over another orphanage for boys at Rio de Janeiro.

A printing establishment has been in operation for some fifteen years or more. It functioned in Pelotas under the able administration of the Rev. J. S. da Silva, who started with an offering from the Brazil Committee of the Woman's Auxiliary of New York. Under his direction the value of the plant was quadrupled. It has since been moved to Porto Alegre and is now installed in the Southern Cross School.

The theological seminary was founded by the Rev. Dr. Wm. C. Brown in Rio Grande in 1902. Nine men were trained there and the work of the seminary was suspended until the Rev. Dr. Morris returned in 1921 to organize anew the work of preparation of new candidates. By his persistent and prayerful efforts property was secured in Porto Alegre, through a gift from Mrs. Schrymser, of New York. As a result of this gift and one from Col. Letcher, of Virginia, our theological school now possesses a beautiful building, the pro-Cathedral Church of the Ascension, the bishop's residence and another for the rector of Ascension Church. Here has been trained the vanguard of the Brazilian ministry, twenty-six of the total of forty-two clergy. We look to these very largely for the future development of the Church in Brazil, for undoubtedly what the Church is to be and stand for will be the result of the labors of this group of men led by the Brazilian suffragan, the Rt. Rev. Athalicio Theodoro Pithan, himself a graduate of the Southern Cross School and the Porto Alegre Seminary.

### *Publications*

In January, 1893, the Rev. Messrs. Morris and Brown published a Church Paper called the *Estandarte Christao* (Christian Standard). In 1895 in convocation the paper was declared to be the official organ of the Church. It has not always been so considered, however. The *Estandarte Christao* has been printed without interruption, and for more than 35 years has been entirely self-supporting. It is now published monthly in the diocesan printing establishment, for magazine form, with 24 to 32 pages.

The diocesan press is prepared to print pamphlets, papers and books. It has issued books written by the clergy and material for Bible instruction.\*

\*Books written by the Brazilian clergy include:

*Vozes do Calvario*—Rev. E. M. Krischke.

*Nos Dias da Tua Mocidade*—Rev. E. M. Krischke.

*Religioes do Mundo*—Rev. G. U. Krischke.

*Do Reto Uso de Preposicoes em Lingua Portugueza*—Rev. G. U. Krischke.

*Historia da Igreja Episcopal Brasileira*—Rev. G. U. Krischke.

*Literatura Brasileira*—Rt. Rev. A. T. Pithan.

*Labareda*—Poems—Rt. Rev. A. T. Pithan.

*Meditacoes*—Rt. Rev. A. T. Pithan.

*Caminhos da Fé*—Rt. Rev. A. T. Pithan.

*Vida Terrena de Jesus*—Rt. Rev. A. T. Pithan.

*Innumerable Editorials in the Estandarte Christao over the course of thirty years*—Rev. J. S. da Silva.

*The First Bishops*

The pioneers, and even more so the first Brazilian clergy, were keen on securing a bishop for the Church in Brazil. They held that the Church in accord with the Constitution and Canons of the American Church, was a church in a foreign land and as such entitled to a bishop. Advised by the American Church Missionary Society and by Bishop Peterkin, the clergy and laity met in a special convocation on May 30, 1898, in the Chapel of the Good Shepherd in Porto Alegre to elect a bishop. There were present three missionaries, three Brazilian clergy and five laymen, from five of the six parishes. A telegram was read as follows:

Philadelphia, May 13, 1898. Kinsolving, Rio Grande.  
Convocate elect Bishop request Bishops consecrate under con-  
stitution ten adopting Haitien concordat.

(signed) PETERKIN.

The convocation studied the Haitien Concordat, which we find in the minutes of the convocation. The Rev. Mr. Cabral proposed the appointment of a committee to study the concordat and report as soon as possible. At the evening session the following resolutions and preambles were adopted:

"1. This convocation resolves to revoke all the former dispositions referring to the request for the consecration of a bishop for Brazil.

"2. This convocation decides to accept the Haitien Concordat (*mutatis nominibus*), but, if possible, with the conditions of the following memorial, which also serves as a credential to the Rev. John Gaw Meem to treat with the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of North America.

"Inasmuch as the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of Brazil has given evidence of substantial development along national lines and very great hope of a vaster growth as a national church;

"Inasmuch as the area of possible growth is incomparable with that of the Republic of Haiti, and

"Inasmuch as the Brazilian people occupy a more eminent position in the family of nations than Haiti can ever obtain:

"Therefore, be it resolved that notwithstanding our readiness to accept the Haitien Concordat (*mutatis nominibus*) we humbly beseech the Rt. Rev. Fathers in God of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America to grant to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of Brazil the right to nominate to the House of

Bishops or to the Committee which that House may be pleased to appoint the future Brazilian Bishops, safeguarding the nomination mentioned by a reservation to themselves, of the sanction of it and of the consecration of the future Brazilian Bishops, this prerogative of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States to cease, when there shall be three bishops residing in Brazil.

“2. Be it resolved that the Rev. John Gaw Meem, missionary presbyter and beloved brother, be and hereby is authorized to obtain the aforementioned concession.

“3. Be it resolved that the above mentioned presbyter, the Rev. John Gaw Meem, be clothed with full powers to sign the Haitien Concordat amended as above declared; but in case he should not secure our request, the same presbyter is hereby authorized and clothed with full powers as a representative of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of Brazil to sign in her name the Haitien Concordat, *mutatis nominibus*.

“In testimony of which, we, the clergy and lay delegates of the special Convocation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of Brazil, met in the City of Porto Alegre, on this Tuesday in Whitsun Week, being the 31st of May in the year of our Lord 1898, do here sign our names.”

(On the following day this document in Portuguese and English was signed by all the delegates present, to-wit:

Lucien Lee Kinsolving, priest  
John G. Meem, priest  
J. W. Morris, priest  
Vicente Brandi, priest  
Antonio M. de Fraga, priest  
A. V. Cabral, priest  
Julio d’Almeida Coelho, lay delegate  
Marcos José Ferreira, lay delegate  
Raphael Archanjo dos Santos  
Annibal Quirino da Silva  
Gervasio M. de Moraes Sarmento.)

By wire, at the request of the convocation, the Rev. Dr. William Cabell Brown, absent in the U. S. A., and an absent lay delegate, Dr. John Rasmussen, voted, so that the final result was 5 clerical and 6 lay vote for the Rev. Lucien Lee Kinsolving. Dr. Brown received 2 clerical votes.

A certificate of election was prepared in English only, but read in Portuguese and signed by—

James Watson Morris, priest  
John Gaw Meem, priest  
Vicente Brandi, priest  
Americo Vespucio Cabral, priest  
Annibal Quirino da Silva  
Raphael Archanjo dos Santos  
Julio d'Almeida Coelho  
Gervasio M. de Moraes Sarmento.

(These names appear in the minutes.)

Unfortunately in the records of the Brazilian Church there is nothing to show how the Rev. Mr. Meem presented these documents nor how they were received by the House of Bishops. Our only extant information concerning the solution of the interesting constitutional problems involved, is to be found in the General Convention Journal of 1898 (pp. 21, 97, 110-111, 113, 338, 339). The Rev. Mr. Meem was recognized by the House of Bishops as "the accredited representative who brings the Memorial." On the second day of the session, October 6th, Bishop Peterkin of West Virginia presented the memorial, "accompanied by a copy of a translation of the Book of Common Prayer in the Portuguese language," to the House of Bishops. Bishop William Croswell Doane of Albany was chairman, Presiding Bishop Williams being absent. On motion the memorial was referred to a special committee of five members appointed by the chair: Morris of Oregon, Dudley of Kentucky, Brewer of Montana, Brooke of Oklahoma, and Lawrence of Massachusetts.

On the eleventh day of the session, October 18th, this committee brought in a report setting forth its reasons for recommending the consecration of a bishop for the Church in Brazil and urged "that the action asked for should not be delayed, but taken at once." The first resolution moved by the committee authorized the Presiding Bishop to take action under Article 10 of the constitution "so soon as a Covenant shall have been executed by the accredited representative [the Rev. John G. Meem] of the aforesaid Church in Brazil in terms approved by a Commission of Bishops to be chosen by the House for that purpose." The second resolution provided that the House of Bishops elect four bishops to approve and execute the proposed covenant "and thereafter to constitute, with the Bishops consecrated under its terms, the Board of Administration which may be called for by said Covenant."

The "proposed covenant" is not given in the Journal of 1898 and for all practical purposes it was "lost" until discovered 40 years later in the records of the presiding bishop's office by the committee on foreign missions of the House of Bishops. It is printed in the 1940 Journal of General Convention, pp. 63-64, and illustrates the importance of preserving and indexing historical records of the Church. Since the "proposed covenant" is long and was never adopted, the interested reader is referred to that readily accessible journal.

These recommendations, involving a covenant and a board of administration, did not meet with the approval of the majority of the bishops. Bishop McLaren of Chicago and Bishop Hall of Vermont moved substitute resolutions, one of which expressed the belief of the House that "it would be inexpedient to organize a national branch of the Church in Brazil until three Bishops shall have been consecrated for Brazil by the Bishops of this House."

The substitute resolutions were adopted and immediately followed by a vote to reconsider and to refer the whole matter to a committee of five bishops: Dudley of Kentucky, McLaren of Chicago, Peterkin of West Virginia, Paret of Maryland, and McVickar of Rhode Island. The next day, October 19th, this committee brought in a much simpler solution of the problem.

*"Resolved*, That the House of Bishops consents to this application [the consecration of a bishop for the Church in Brazil], and will at once proceed to elect and will request the Presiding Bishop to take order for the consecration of a Bishop for said foreign country;

*Provided*, that a majority of the Bishops of this Church consent to the said consecration; and

*Provided further*, that the person so elected shall before his consecration bind himself to the Presiding Bishop, as representing for this purpose the House of Bishops, to be amenable to the Constitution and Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, both as to his personal conduct and as to his episcopal government of the territory under his charge; which obligation shall terminate when there shall be three Bishops consecrated by this House of Bishops resident and exercising jurisdiction in the United States of Brazil, and by their joint action a national Church shall have been organized."

The resolution, together with the preamble, was adopted. No action by the House of Deputies being required, the latter House was merely notified for its information of the action taken by the House of Bishops.

The group of Christians in Brazil were doubtless confident that they had fulfilled all the conditions of the constitution and canons. But there were certain conditions that hardly justified their claim or their request as presented, for instance, "that the position of this body of Christian people in the land wherein they dwell is such as to justify its distinct organization as a Church therein"; there were only 345 communicants, all told, and the total contributions amounted to only \$5,600. It could hardly have been true that, however sincerely they might have received their bishop as their true and lawful chief pastor, they could have suitably maintained him as such. But, as Dr. Morris wrote, "at first, like the famous 600, we charged ahead, oblivious of canons, to right and left!"

The House of Bishops elected the Rev. Lucien Lee Kinsolving, a presbyter of the diocese of West Virginia; the House of Deputies gave their approval. This election was held under Article X (now III) of the Constitution.

Kinsolving was consecrated in St. Bartholomew's Church, New York, on January 6, 1899. He is numbered C in the list of bishops of the American Church between 187 and 188.

In 1907, at the request of the Brazilian Church, the General Convention created the missionary district of Southern Brazil out of the existent Brazilian Episcopal Church. In the memorial sent to General Convention there was a phrase in regard to protecting and safeguarding the prerogatives then enjoyed by the Brazilian Church. We note, however, that when General Convention created the missionary district of Southern Brazil, thereby ending the existence of the Brazilian Episcopal Church as an independent body, no mention was made of "rights and prerogatives." In fact such rights and prerogatives were never defined nor understood. (See report of committee appointed by the House of Bishops to report on relation of the Brazilian and American Churches. Journal of General Convention, 1940, pp. 61-73.)

In 1925 Bishop Kinsolving asked the General Convention for a suffragan bishop, and the Rev. William M. M. Thomas, who had been a missionary in Brazil since 1904, was elected. He was consecrated on December 28, 1925, in St. Paul's Church, Baltimore. After Bishop Kinsolving resigned Bishop Thomas was elected as second missionary bishop of Southern Brazil in 1928.

Bishop Thomas carried on alone until 1940, although the Church had grown during the fifteen years along all lines. Mission stations had increased 50%, clergy 50%, communicants 80%, day-schools 400% and contributions 100%.

In 1939 Bishop Thomas requested the House of Bishops to elect

a suffragan bishop for Southern Brazil. The Rev. Dr. Athalicio Theodoro Pithan was elected on November 9. He was consecrated in Trinity Church, Porto Alegre, on April 21, 1940, by Bishops Thomas of Southern Brazil, Salinas y Velasco of Mexico and Blankingship of Cuba. This was the 50th anniversary of the arrival in Porto Alegre of the first pioneer missionaries, Morris and Kinsolving. It was the first consecration of a bishop for a Latin American field by bishops of Latin American districts; and also the first consecration held in the Portuguese language according to the Anglican or any other rite. Thus is history made.

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## ST. PAUL'S PARISH, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 1692-1942

*By the Rev. Arthur B. Kinsolving, D. D.<sup>1</sup>*

**S**T. PAUL'S, the oldest Anglican parish in Baltimore, will observe its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary in 1942. In 1926 the *Baltimore Morning Sun* spoke of it as follows:

St. Paul's Episcopal Church is in the realm of things ecclesiastical what Mount Vernon Place and the Washington Monument are in the realm of things aesthetic and patriotic. All of them are possessions which belong to the whole community, which have grown inseparably into our life and our history and become the special centers of general local pride . . . Such an edifice as St. Paul's . . . develops a sort of personality of its own . . . the treasury of accumulated and undying spiritualities.

The present edifice, which is the fifth St. Paul's Church, has its roots in pioneer days thirty-eight years before Baltimore Town was laid out, days when a fringe of people clustered about the shores of Chesapeake Bay, when dense primeval forests, with a few crooked trails blazed upon trees, made the mysterious hinterland, and warlike tribes of Indians looked suspiciously upon the white intruders.

Baltimore County contained three parishes, St. George's, St. John's, and St. Paul's, the last of which was first called Patapsco. Among the sturdy adventurers were godly laymen who, when there was no minister, held lay services, first in the little log church on the edge of the forest, then in the brick church on Patapsco Neck. The Reverend John Yeo was their first minister. He was a true priest and pastor and served from 1682 to his death in May, 1686.

To glance backward; in the year 1632, George Calvert, secretary to the first Lord Salisbury, a member throughout his earlier manhood of the Church of England, received a charter from King Charles I for the territory constituting the province of Maryland. He had declared himself a Roman Catholic in 1625. Prior to this charter, Maryland was loosely a part of Virginia, and in 1629 members of the Church of England had established a colony on Kent Island in Chesapeake

<sup>1</sup>Rector emeritus of the parish.

Bay. Regular services of the English Church were held at Kent Island by the Reverend Richard James from 1631 to 1634, the date of the landing of *the Ark and the Dove* at St. Mary's. George Calvert never visited these shores.

The palatinate of Maryland passed to Cecilius Calvert upon the death of his father, and he was the first proprietary. The policy of Cecilius, second Lord Baltimore, was that no offense should be given to others not of the papal faith, and this spirit of toleration characterized the province, though not always. When the famous Act of Religious Toleration was passed in 1649, the majority in that assembly were not Roman Catholics.

In June, 1692, there was passed by the General Assembly an "Act for the establishment of the Protestant religion in this province," directing that the counties should be divided into parishes, and vestries should be duly elected. This was under Governor Lionel Copley, a member of the Church of England. St. Paul's, formerly Patapsco Parish, was incorporated at this time. The first church, located on Patapsco Neck, was erected some time between 1693 and 1700. The Reverend Dr. Bray, commissary of the bishop of London, came in 1700, and in 1702 the Reverend William Tibbs was sent as a missionary priest to the parish. Religion in the early eighteenth century was at a low ebb both in England and her colonies, until the great Evangelical Revival. Yet for thirty years Mr. Tibbs traveled hundreds of miles each month serving his office, and at his death in 1732 was lovingly spoken of as "their old shepherd."

In 1729, Baltimore Town was laid out. In 1730, an Act of the General Assembly of Maryland provided "for the building of a church in a town called Baltimore Town, in St. Paul's Parish." The vestry bought a lot on the northern border and on the highest ground of the sixty acre town, facing Chesapeake Bay, and bounded by what are now Charles, Saratoga, St. Paul and Lexington Streets. The second church of the parish, begun in 1731, was not finished until 1739. To the north the glorious forest stretched in great woodland waves. A wharf jutted out at the foot of Calvert Street on the south, and ships at anchor dotted the harbor. There were two stockades to protect the residents in their twenty-five homes from forays of the fierce Susquehannas. The old war trail of the Indians ran right past St. Paul's Church, along Saratoga Street.

In 1732, the Reverend Joseph Hooper came, wrought earnestly, got the new church built, and died in 1739. The Reverend Benedict Bourdillon was appointed to the rectorship by Governor Samuel Ogle in 1739, and served until 1745. He had probably been expelled from

France at the time that the Huguenots were driven from that kingdom. During his ministry a chapel of ease was erected to accommodate the "Forest inhabitants." This is now known as St. Thomas' Church, Garrison Forest. Its first rector, a cultured and devoted priest, the Reverend Thomas Craddock, served with noble devotion until his death in 1770.

On the 11th of February, 1745, the Reverend Thomas Chase presented to the vestry his letter of induction from Governor Bladen of the province of Maryland. He was born in England in 1700, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. Then he studied medicine and took his medical degree. He soon went to the island of St. Thomas and practiced his profession. Afterwards he returned to England and sought holy orders. He was ordained deacon January 7, 1739, by the bishop of St. David's, and the following month was ordained priest by the bishop of London, being at the time 38 years old. He was sent to Maryland and became the rector of Somerset Parish on the Eastern Shore. There he married Matilda Walker, who died at the birth of their first child. That son was the celebrated Samuel Chase, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

During Mr. Chase's ministry St. Paul's became so crowded that when Charles Carroll, Esq., barrister, and Mr. John Beall Bordley applied for pews, "there being none, they were authorized to have one made." Mr. Chase had a fruitless interview on the defection of the Methodists with the Reverend Francis Asbury, who at first was of opinion that Mr. Chase did not understand the "deep things of God," but afterwards on closer acquaintance retracted this opinion.

The Reverend William West, D. D., became rector in 1779. He was born in Fairfax County, Virginia, August 17, 1737. His family lived within visiting distance of Mt. Vernon, and until his death there existed an intimacy with General Washington. Mr. West was ordained priest for Virginia by the bishop of London. He served several parishes in Maryland, returned to Fairfax Parish, Virginia, and came from that charge to St. Paul's. He was a friend and frequent correspondent of Bishop William White, and took an active part in adapting the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England to the post-revolutionary Protestant Episcopal Church. He suggested that "the Athanasian creed be not mentioned, being less necessary as the Apostles' and Nicene creeds were retained."

Under his influence, a noble letter was sent by the vestry of St. Paul's to the rectors and vestries in Maryland seeking to awaken the Church here from its apathy. This letter was signed by John Moale,

Samuel Johnston, John Merryman and John Eager Howard, among others. At a diocesan convention at Annapolis in 1786, there were only two lay delegates present, one from St. Paul's, and one from St. Thomas', Baltimore County. Dr. West was for a number of times secretary, and finally the president of the diocesan convention.

Under him the third St. Paul's was built. It was erected by the aid of a lottery, customary in those days, and was finished in 1784. On three sides there was a burying-ground. A belfry stood at the side of the church. The pews were on the square box pattern, very high. A one-piece green cloth covered the Holy Communion table. The noble colonial rectory, which is still standing, was begun in 1789, and completed in 1791. Dr. West said the rectory was really too fine for a minister, and died just before its completion, fulfilling a premonition that he would not live to occupy it.

Dr. Thomas John Claggett succeeded Dr. West as president of the diocesan convention. He was elected first bishop of Maryland in 1792, and at his consecration the Scottish and English lines of succession were united. To his credit, Dr. West made a further effort to bring back into the Church of England the American Methodists. He held conferences with Messrs. Coke and Asbury, both ordained presbyters of the Church of England, but Dr. Coke replied that the difference between the two bodies lay "in experience and practice, rather than in doctrines and forms of worship." John Wesley had written just before this, "I believe there is no liturgy in the world, either in ancient or modern language, which breathes more of a solid, scriptural, rational piety, than the Common Prayer of the Church of England." Both Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury were accustomed to use this book. It is said that the treatment of the Methodists in England was the chief cause of the failure of this effort at reconciliation.

The Reverend Joseph Grove John Bend, D. D., was elected rector of St. Paul's Parish on June 17, 1791. He was born in New York City, probably in 1762. His parents resided on the island of Barbadoes, where this only son received both a classical and a commercial education and became a superior accountant. When he returned to this country or what led him to seek holy orders, is not known, but in July, 1787, at the first ordination held in the diocese of New York, he was ordained deacon by Bishop Provoost. At the same time Richard Channing Moore, who was afterwards to become bishop of Virginia, was ordained. Dr. Bend became assistant minister at Christ Church and St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, of both of which Bishop White was rector. Dr. Bend was the first rector of St. Paul's who had been ordained in this country. He at once took his seat in the Maryland

convention, was placed on the standing committee, and soon became a leading man in the diocese. He was made treasurer of St. Paul's Parish, and later treasurer of the diocese, a rather unique circumstance. His initiative, energy and wisdom were amazing. Under him the Benevolent Society, dating from 1799, which still maintains the Girls' School of St. Paul's, was founded. He added two associate rectors to the staff, and established Christ Church, which for thirty-five years remained under St. Paul's. Among the associates during his incumbency were the Reverend John Ireland and the Reverend Drs. E. J. Rattoone and Frederick Beasly.

Dr. Bend served the parish for twenty years with conspicuous devotion and success. He met his death in a tragic and lamentable way. A mob attacked the county jail bent on killing certain prisoners politically obnoxious to them. One of these prisoners was the rector's eldest son, a youth of twenty. His devoted father spent the night in the church yard overlooking the jail, and died from the exposure and worry of that night. Dr. Bend was a leader of the high church party both in the diocese and in the general church. He increased the number of week-day services and the celebrations of the Holy Communion. He was twice married. A great-granddaughter, Mrs. George B. Stone-Alcock, recently gave the church the first silver tea service used in St. Paul's rectory, whose first occupant he was, one hundred and fifty years ago.

In the year 1789, out of 25,000 Roman Catholics in the United States, 18,000 were resident in Maryland. Colonel John Eager Howard sold the site of the present Roman Catholic Cathedral, on Mulberry and Cathedral Streets, to Bishop Carroll on very generous terms. Its cornerstone was laid in 1806. Dr. Bend, Bishop Carroll, afterwards archbishop, and the Reverend Dr. Patrick Allison, minister of the Presbyterian Church, all personal friends, were leaders in every great civic movement in the Baltimore of that day. They organized the first public library in the community, and there are today in the Maryland Historical Library a number of books from this early collection.

On Christmas Day, 1784, the first general conference of the Wesleyans or Methodists was held in Baltimore under the superintendence of the Reverend Thomas Coke. It was at this meeting that the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized as an independent religious society. Mr. Coke and the Reverend Francis Asbury were constituted superintendents of the new organization.

The Reverend James Kemp, D. D., succeeded Dr. Bend in 1812, and was rector until his death in 1827. He was born on May 20, 1764, in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, and came to Maryland in 1786.

Originally a Presbyterian, he became a candidate for holy orders and studied under the Reverend Dr. John Bowie, rector of Great Choptank Parish, Maryland. He was ordained deacon in Christ Church, Philadelphia, December 26, 1789, and priest the following day at the same place, in both instances by Bishop William White. After twenty years as rector of Great Choptank Parish, in 1812 he became associate rector of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore.

Dr. Kemp was consecrated as suffragan to Bishop Claggett in Christ Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey, September 1, 1814, by Bishops White, Hobart and Channing Moore. As suffragan he was assigned charge of the churches on the Eastern Shore. In 1815 he was made provost of the University of Maryland. On the death of Bishop Claggett in 1816, he succeeded to the bishopric of Maryland. Bishop Kemp met his death by the upsetting of a stagecoach near Newcastle, Delaware. He was a man of fine scholarship and a definitely Catholic-minded Churchman, as a number of fine occasional sermons bear witness. He left both the parish that he served until his death and the diocese he shepherded far stronger for his singularly able leadership.

A fourth St. Paul's was erected at this time, and consecrated by Bishop Kemp in 1817. This edifice was of brick and marble, having a portico and steeple in front, and faced Charles Street.

In the year 1800, the vestry bought a city square twelve blocks west of the church for a burying ground. The graves around the church were removed to this plot, which is still under the care of St. Paul's. This spot is the resting-place of the following rectors, Chase, Bourdillon, Bishop Kemp, Drs. Wyatt and Mahan; and of layman, Justice Samuel Chase, Colonel John Eager Howard, who gave the land for the rectory; General George Armistead, commander of Fort McHenry during the siege; and Colonel Tench Tilghman, who carried the news of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown to the American Congress at Philadelphia.

The Reverend William Edward Wyatt served as assistant and full rector of St. Paul's from 1814 to 1864. His ministry here was longer than any other, and in the diocese and general Church he was one of the commanding figures of the period. He was born in Nova Scotia, July 9, 1789. The next year his parents moved to New York City, where he was educated at Columbia College. Among his classmates were the two Bishops Onderdonk, Bishop Jackson Kemper and Judge Murray Hoffman. Mr. Wyatt read for holy orders under Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Hobart, and was ordained deacon by Bishop Benjamin Moore in 1810, and priest by Bishop Hobart in October, 1813. His first charge was at Newtown, L. I. He married Miss Frances Billop

on October 1, 1812. They had eleven children, seven sons and four daughters. Two of his sons entered the ministry. In the spring of 1814, he became associate rector of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, the senior associate being the Reverend James Kemp, D. D. A month later Mr. Wyatt was instituted as the associate minister of St. Paul's with the right of succession to the rectorship. Upon the death of Bishop Kemp in 1827 he became the sole rector, and continued until his death on June 24, 1864. Mr. Wyatt received every honor from this diocese except the episcopate. He was first secretary and then president of the standing committee, and for many years secretary of the convention of the diocese. He served in the General Convention from 1817 until his death in 1864, and for thirty years was the president of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, the longest presidency on record. He was professor of theology in the University of Maryland, and received the doctorate from that institution. He was for a number of years chaplain without pay of the Maryland penitentiary.

Under Dr. Wyatt the boys' school of St. Paul's was established in 1849. Few priests in the American Church have served a more consecrated and outstanding ministry than he. He belonged to the school of Laud, Andrewes, George Herbert, and J. H. Hobart. He held strong views of the Church, her orders, and her sacraments; increased the number of devotional services, and established the weekly Eucharist. He was wise in counsel, had a keen knowledge of men, and was widely beloved in the community. Through many years his health was somewhat delicate, and for seventeen months toward the close he endured increasing pain, but God's grace empowered him to triumph over his sufferings, as it had empowered him to serve one of the most inspiring careers in the priesthood of our Church.

The Reverend Milo Mahan, D. D., succeeded Dr. Wyatt in the summer of 1864. For seventeen years he had been the distinguished professor of ecclesiastical history in the General Theological Seminary, New York. He was born in Suffolk, Virginia, his father being an Irish gentleman and his mother a Virginian. He was one of the fortunate pupils of Dr. Muhlenberg at Flushing, and was intellectually the first boy in the school. At seventeen he became a teacher of Greek at the Episcopal High School of Virginia and taught there seven years. He went back to St. Paul's College, Flushing, as a teacher, decided while there to study for holy orders, and was priested December 14, 1846, in his 28th year, by Bishop Ives. A few years afterward he became assistant to the Reverend Dr. J. P. B. Wilmer at St. Mark's Church, Philadelphia. Some years before this he had become deeply impressed by the Oxford Movement, and the defection of Newman compelled him to make a thorough examination

of the points at issue between the Anglican and Roman branches of the Church, and he became a sound and able expositor of the Catholicity of the Anglican position. In 1851, he was installed as professor of ecclesiastical history at the General Theological Seminary, and brought new distinction to that chair. He was the co-editor with John Henry Hobart, II, and John Henry Hopkins of *The Church Journal*, where his vigor, his Irish paradoxes, and his humor came to be widely recognized. His friendship with Bishop George Washington Doane of New Jersey induced him to become a priest of that diocese, and New Jersey sent him as a deputy to the General Conventions of 1856, '59 and '62. In the convention of '62 he made two notable speeches which fixed the eyes of the whole Church upon him. As a strong Southern sympathizer, in the convention of 1865 he exercised a notable irenic influence.

When he was elected rector of St. Paul's in succession to Dr. Wyatt, he began at once to make significant changes in the services and the two schools. He introduced the alb and chasuble, altar lights, the colors of the seasons and still more frequent celebrations of the Holy Communion. His powerful intellect and vast erudition became known throughout the Church. In reply to "The Comedy of Convocation," a Roman Catholic caricature of the Anglican position, by request he wrote "The Comedy of Canonization." Dr. Mahan went to Oxford the year before his death, hoping to see Dr. Pusey, but missed him. He was delighted with Dr. Liddon, and was guest of the Cowley Fathers, and also at Clewer.

On his return, after some painful controversy, he was elected to his old post in the General Theological Seminary, but declined it because the work of St. Paul's was "so entangled about his heart." In June of 1870 he was re-elected, and his consciousness of failing strength inclined him to believe that he might render further service in that chair. But on September 3, while his priest assistant was offering the commendatory prayer, his loyal spirit passed away.

On the death of Dr. Mahan in 1870, the Reverend Dr. John Sebastian Bach Hodges was elected rector. His thirty-five years of incumbency were markedly fruitful. A son of Edward Hodges, the gifted organist of Trinity Parish, New York City, he was an eminent priest-musician, and composed some of the finest anthems and hymn tunes the Church possesses. His musical setting for "Bread of the World in Mercy Broken" is sung around the globe. He took personal charge of St. Paul's choir and, with the aid of the brilliant Miles Farrow, afterwards chosen to be choirmaster and organist of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York, he developed one of the most beautiful and reverent Anglican services in this country. But Dr. Hodges was also

a clear and definite teacher of the High Church school. He had an Englishman's instinct for building and strengthening institutions. During his rectorship St. Paul's House was built, and is still serving as a meeting-place for the Church School and various parish organizations, and its upper floors as a home for self-supporting young women. He started the Endowment Fund, which at his retirement had reached about \$70,000.00. A group of earnest lay people in his time began the work which afterwards flowered into St. Paul's Chapel and Guild House, though all of the present equipment belongs to the rectorship which followed his. He personally rescued the boys' school from closing its doors, but made it virtually a choir school. A wealthy and liberal parishioner, Miss Frances Donaldson, in 1883 enabled the trustees to secure a home for the school on East Franklin Street, and for many years the thirty boys might be seen marching in cap and gown back and forth for the daily choral evensong at the church three blocks away.

Dr. Hodges resigned on September 30, 1905, and preached his farewell sermon on Sunday, December 31, of that year. There was at the time a sharp division in the congregation, many of whom were opposed to the acceptance by the vestry of his twice-tendered resignation. Accordingly, the vestry waited until after the Easter Monday election, 1906, before calling a successor. They were all re-elected. Meanwhile, Dr. Hodges was made rector emeritus, and given a liberal stipend for life. He lived for nine years after his retirement, often officiating at altar services, marriages and funerals.

On May 22, 1906, the Reverend Arthur Barksdale Kinsolving, D. D., was elected rector and entered upon his duties October 1 of that year. He was born in Middleburg, Virginia, and was a son of the Reverend Dr. Ovid A. Kinsolving and Lucinda Lee Rogers. He was educated at the University of Virginia, and graduated from the Virginia Theological Seminary in 1886. After serving three years in Virginia, he was rector for seventeen years of Christ Church, Brooklyn, and was a member of the standing committee of the diocese of Long Island, and a deputy to the General Convention. Under his ministry there, Christ Chapel was erected and the parish houses at both the church and the chapel. Besides, a large endowment fund was raised, and the confirmations at the church and chapel frequently numbered 100 a year.

For twenty years after his coming to St. Paul's the daily celebration of the Holy Communion was kept up, and for a long period the beautiful choral evensong. With a fine group of laymen and women, and the efficient leadership of the Reverend Frank Hay Staples, priest in charge, St. Paul's Chapel and Guild House were developed from

small beginnings in southwest Baltimore. In 1906, services were being conducted in the parlor of a small house, but in July, 1907, a neighboring church, the Henshaw Memorial, was tendered the vestry of St. Paul's for a merger with St. Paul's Guild House, and the offer was accepted. The Church was remodeled, a large guild house was built, and also a residence for the vicar. By degrees the total cost of \$75,000 was met and the debt extinguished. After a fire, the restored church was rededicated on November 3, 1935, by Bishop Helfenstein, the rector being the preacher. During the forty years that Mr. Staples has been in charge there have been 2,328 baptisms, 1,801 confirmations, 617 marriages, and 1,372 burials. There are about 30 organizations connected with the Guild House.

Next, St. Paul's House, adjoining the colonial rectory, was enlarged by an additional wing, and the fine organ of the church rebuilt. In 1923, the boys' school, previously limited to 30 boys, was removed from its site near the church to a new location in the suburbs, where there is now a school of 240 boys and 12 masters. It has a property of 28 acres, on which stand the main school, a large gymnasium, a separate lower school, and quarters for several married masters. The rector is chairman of the board of trustees and chaplain. The boarders and many day scholars come more directly under the nurture of the church, and the choirmaster trains a large group of boys for chancel duty.

The girls' school, maintained in large part by the income from an endowment, was moved in 1929 from North Charles Street to "Evergreen," an estate of twenty-five acres within the city limits. The girls attend the public schools and live at "Evergreen" with three trained women in charge. There are 25 girls and they are religiously under the care of the clergy of St. Paul's.

At the General Convention of 1808, the house of bishops, when only Bishops William White and Thomas John Claggett were present, met in the colonial rectory facing Liberty Street, while the house of clerical and lay deputies assembled in the church, a block away. In this rectory in recent years the following celebrities have been entertained: The Right Reverend A. F. Winnington-Ingram, bishop of London; the Right Reverend Edward Stuart Talbot, bishop of Winchester; A. E. (George Russell), Walter de la Mare, Robert Frost, Amy Lowell, John Livingston Lowes, Vachel Lindsey, Padraic Colum and Carl Sandburg.

St. Paul's today is one of the most active down town parishes in the national church. In a fast-changing world, its services are still well attended. The mid-day Lenten services, begun thirty-six years

ago, have grown steadily in their reach. The attendance ranges in aggregate from twenty-five to twenty-eight thousand each Lent. The two schools assure the presence of a large youth element on Sunday mornings, and the various institutions elicit the activities of many lay people.

St. Paul's has stood through the years for the central tradition of our Anglican inheritance. It has a stately and reverent service, and a balanced stress is laid upon the sacramental life. The influence of the Oxford revival is quite clearly registered in the sanctuary appointments and the type of worship, but the parish has been free from extremes in ritual and teaching. As a mother parish, it has stood for comprehensiveness. At no previous period has our apostolic inheritance been more highly prized, and yet never have the relations of the mother church of Baltimore with our brethren of other Christian communions been friendlier or more cordial. The roots of so many Church families are in St. Paul's, that this feeling is natural on the part of members of the Episcopal Church; but St. Paul's has won the love and reverence of hundreds not of our own communion.

An effort has been made to strike a balance between sanctuary devotion on the one hand and Christian service on the other. During the past thirty-six years the services held in St. Paul's have numbered more than 25,000. There have been 624 baptisms, 1,213 confirmations, and 816 marriages. Then, besides making provision for the financial support of St. Paul's, and meeting quotas, many thousand dollars have been spent on St. Paul's Chapel and Guild House, which is the largest work of its kind in Baltimore. The boys' school has the largest enrolment that any Church school in Maryland has ever had, and is now self-supporting. During the first World War more than 60,000 soldiers and sailors were entertained and fed at St. Paul's Parish House.

The whole Christian Church today, Catholic and Protestant, is facing discipline through the massed power of secularism and men's preoccupation with war. Similar siftings it has met before, though never on the present scale. But the story of a quarter of a millennium of one parish which has lived through many critical periods and is still facing with courage and confidence, as thousands of others are, the challenge of today, ought to strengthen the faith of all Christians in the divine mission of the Church of the Risen Christ.

## THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CHURCH IN PUERTO RICO

*By Charles L. Colmore\**

**R**ELIGIOUS liberty was granted to Puerto Rico, then under Spanish rule, in 1869. Taking advantage of this degree, the following Europeans of various nationalities convened for the purpose of organizing a religious body: Messrs. W. E. Lee, Daniel Basanta, J. F. Finlay, Thomas Salomons, Peter J. Menvielle, G. F. Weichers, Thomas A. Dodd, Charles E. Daily, and Joseph Henna.

The Roman Catholic had been the only organized religion permitted in the Spanish Colonies since the beginning of Spain's colonization in 1493. These men of a different heritage and inspired by the desire for religious freedom seized upon this opportunity to have their own place and method of worship. The following is the text of their appeal for funds to the community taken from an original copy given me by a son of W. E. Lee bearing the signatures of all of the above. It is written by hand beautifully in almost copy-plate style.

### “APPEAL TO PROTESTANTS”

“Anxious to avail themselves of the late Decree of Spain, granting religious liberty to her colonies the protestant community of Ponce—Porto Rico—seeing the great good to be derived therefrom, have determined in a meeting held for the purpose, to do their utmost to erect a Protestant place of worship on the spot.

The local subscription list circulated for this purpose, is highly encouraging, as it shows plainly by the names on same, that all classes are equally desirous as ourselves to see a Protestant church erected in their midst.

Without your assistance however, our object cannot be attained, and we therefore appeal to you to aid us by your contributions.

We deem it unnecessary to enter into any dissertations on the necessity of our proposed step, nor of the beneficial results to be expected; suffice it to say, that hitherto Foreigners have been prevented from enjoying their Faith in a public way.

Ponce, Porto Rico. 20th November 1869.”

\*Missionary Bishop of Puerto Rico.

A wooden building was shipped out in sections from London and in August, 1873, was opened for divine service. Tradition in Ponce has it that at the downfall of the short lived republic the Church was ordered closed, but Queen Victoria was appealed to by her subjects and through her offices the interdict was removed. The ringing of the church bell, however, was prohibited, apparently lest there be propaganda among the people of Ponce.

The congregation placed itself under the spiritual oversight of the diocese of Antigua and in the summer of 1874 (July 25) the Rt. Rev. Wm. Waldron Jackson, lord bishop of Antigua, consecrated the building in "honor of the Holy and Ever Blessed Trinity."

The parish records which begin with an account of the first visit of the bishop of Antigua, the Rt. Rev. William Waldron Jackson, dated July 18, 1874, and written by the Rev. C. J. Branch, acting chaplain to the bishop, and later bishop of Antigua, make no mention of the facts of government prohibition of services and propaganda. This first record is of a meeting held by the bishop with the committee of the Church in Ponce consisting of the Rev. A. F. Giolma, rector, and Messrs. Basanta, Salomons, Lion, McCormick and Lee. The first entry is as follows: "The Bishop stated that in consequence of the official order forwarded by the Captain General (Governor General) to the Alcade (Mayor) of this town, a copy of which had been sent to the bishop, the keys of the Church had been delivered to the committee, and would, therefore, henceforth be in the possession of the present Rector, as long as he remained in that office, and further, that the government interdict having been removed from the Rector, there could not exist any impediment to his performing Divine Service." The interdict had been issued against the Rev. A. F. Giolma and the Church had been closed by the government because of charges which had been presented against him. There appears to have been no prohibition of non-Roman services, and this opinion is confirmed by the fact that the Rev. Joseph Bean, mentioned later, established the work of the Church of England in the Island of Vieques in 1880, eighteen years before the American occupation of the island.

To return to the consideration of the interdict pronounced upon the Rev. Alfred F. Giolma, the records say that this reverend gentleman came as rector in January, 1874, and that finding something more than \$3,000 indebtedness upon the Church building began making investigations looking toward the possibility of liquidating it so the Church could be consecrated. This seems to have incensed certain members of the committee who had charge of the accounts and they served him with notice of his dismissal. He declined to accept it, since it was not

the unanimous wish of the committee, so they state to the archbishop of Canterbury, and on June 20, 1874, four of these gentlemen "falsely denounced him to the Mayor of Ponce as having preached against the Pope, Romanism and the Institutions of the country. In consequence Mr. Giolma was at once interdicted by the mayor, and the Church ordered to be closed until further orders of the Governor General. His Excellency ordered an investigation to be made, which proved the charges to be without foundation, and so our Rector was reinstated in his office and a subsequent inquiry by the Bishop of Antigua led to our appointment as a new committee." The rector's action seems to have been upheld by the large majority of the congregation. They wanted to keep him since having a perfect knowledge of both English and Spanish he was able to hold services in both languages. This I think also dispels the idea that there was to be no propaganda among the native people. It is difficult to understand, therefore, why the bell was not allowed to be rung, which, however, seems to have been the case.

Another statement the committee makes to the archbishop is that both the bishops of Antigua and Barbados "commended Mr. Giolma for his orthodoxy, zeal and correct moral deportment." The lay popes seem to have been at work, however. They secured the bishop's ear, and on Jan. 26, 1875, having exercised his office for only one year, but an eventful one, Mr. Giolma resigned, giving as his reason the persecution by the same men who had falsely accused him, and failing to receive the moral support which every clergyman has the right to expect from his bishop. The parish presented him with a purse of gold and he left for England.

The first two rectors, Rev. A. Giolma (1874-75) and the Rev. Z. VallSpinosa (1876-84), held services in Spanish as well as in English. Two other rectors, Rev. B. Noel Branch (1884-93) and the Rev. H. M. Skinner (1893-95) and a vacancy of three years, brought the history of the parish up to the time of the Spanish-American war, when some American soldiers, members of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, opened the church for services and the church bell was again rung, for the first time since 1873. The Rev. Frederick Caunt, from the diocese of Antigua, served the parish from 1899 to 1901. The church building was condemned in 1923 and a beautiful church of reinforced concrete in Spanish style was built in its place. I have been told by old residents of Puerto Rico that the fortunes of this congregation varied in accordance with the ecclesiastical convictions of the Spanish governors general. If they wished they were able to find pretexts by which they were able to "vex certain of the Church" and make the work of the

congregation difficult. At times the work throve since there was no opposition from higher up.

A picturesque and pathetic personality is that of the Rev. Joseph N. Bean (colored), rector for many years of a small congregation of English speaking colored people in the Island of Vieques, lying east of and belonging to Puerto Rico. A native of Bermuda, according to his own statement to Queen Victoria, he had been a British government employee at Jos Van Dyke, one of the Virgin group, and there heard of a colony of his countrymen in Vieques without a spiritual guide. Poorly educated, he nevertheless felt called to go to their aid. In his records I find this entry: "I left Tortola November 6, 1880, with wife and dog. Paid the Captain \$18 to land us. Arrived at Vieques on seventh morning at six o'clock. The Doctor came and a gentleman asked for passport. I told him I had none. The Governor said we must come in the office. I made known to him my mission, he said I could do so." Mr. Bean was a layman at this time, but evidently had the approval and backing of the authorities of the Church of England in the diocese of Antigua. I find several records of the visit of the Rev. H. Semper, of Tortola, for the purpose of administering the sacraments. He visited there in May and again in October, 1881, to celebrate the Lord's Supper. Another visitor was the "honorable warden and treasurer of All Saints' Church, St. Thomas, Mr. C. A. Brewer. He looked at the papers and grant of the Capt. Gen. of Puerto Rico to establish the church, and gave his aid \$2.00."

Again in May, 1883, the Rev. H. Semper visited Vieques, this time to baptize the six months' old child of Joseph and Lucinda Bean. Evidently this was not acceptable to the governor of Vieques. The entry states, "This time he did not have time to visit the estates." The baptism took place on the evening of his arrival and he left the next day. Mr. Bean writes: "as we were going out to the service my wife said a policeman has been here to say the Governor says you must come to him before you baptize. I did not say anything to the minister (Mr. Semper) but took with me the Grant from the Captain General and the English Consulate of P. R." While in the house which was used as the church, a secretary of the governor spoke to him and he said "tell the Governor I cannot come now. And that was the last of that." When he told the minister the next day he said "you did right, for I would not have stopped baptizing him."

Archdeacon Hutson (of St. Thomas) visited him in 1883 and again in 1885. Bishop Branch of Antigua confirmed twenty-one persons there in 1885 and four in 1893. He seems to have been pious. He "thanks God that Mr. Semper came to baptize his child" and after

the record of some of the first services, he says, "God I hope will bless us as we go on."

In 1885 he was bereaved. Following an entry in 1890 giving a statement of various sums received for the Church, there is this choice bit of information. "The four posts of the bedstead that Mrs. Bean died on are at the Altar rails. God bless them in the Church of God. She is in Heaven I hope and pray. 1885 she died."

Later information: "Mr. Joseph Nathaniel Bean entered St. Augustine (ine) college 1887 and was presented by the Rev. R. B. Sutton, D. D., and was ordained Deacon in St. Augustine's Church in the city of Raleigh, N. C., by the Rt. Rev. T. B. Lyman, D. D., Bishop of N. C. 17th Nov., 1889."

Again: "The Rev. Nathaniel Bean was presented for the Priesthood by the Ven. E. Hutson and was ordained Priest in St. John's Church in the city of Christiansted, St. Croix, D. W. I., by the Rt. Rev. C. J. Branch, D. D., Coadjutor Bishop of Antigua. He was assisted in the laying on of hands by Archdeacon Hutson of the Virgin Islands, Archdeacon Dodsworth of St. Kitts, Rev. H. Semper, Rev. C. H. Branch, Rev. R. J. E. Scott and the Rector, A. J. Gumber. 1,400 people present. Feb. 25, 1893." Almost all the above names are familiar to me and I can easily believe the record of attendance. The Church had that capacity and it must have been a well advertised occasion with all those ecclesiastics present.

In 1898 the Spanish-American war took place. Mr. Bean writes, "From 23rd of April war commenced between U. S. A. and Spain. The poor suffered much."

Evidently the "war of nerves" is not a new instrument. His record of "Wednesday evening, August 3, 1898. Mr. James Marden came to invite the Rector and his wife to St. Mary's (a sugar estate) and gave up his room to them. The whole town was in a state of excitement, it being reported that the Colonel was going to burn the town and kill all strangers, also inhabitants, even to suckling infants. The order was given to the soldiers to pierce with their bayonets." A very interesting event on Sept. 21, 1898. "A man of war steamed slowly into port. The Rector immediately wrote a letter to the American Colonel inviting him in the name of God before all things to come to Church in honor of the President of the U. S. A. and civil authority. He replied yes I am going to the fort with this gentleman, who was the Spanish Colonel. He returned with his band and marched the troops to Church where special prayers were said and a hymn sung." The American ensign was to be hoisted on the custom house at noon, so Mr. Bean "received the ensign at the Altar rails and dedicated it in

the midst of a hundred amens. All the high heads were present at this grand reception."

Soon after this the Church in the United States of America took charge. Bishop Peterkin visited the mission in 1901. Records begin to show regular payments on account of salary from Geo. C. Thomas, treasurer of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. His latter days were probably freer from a financial point of view and there was no interference from the government.

He was, however, by this time well along in years and his sight gradually failed him. He died July 15, 1907.

The building purchased by Mr. Bean for \$1,000, half of which sum was provided locally, served as the home of the congregation until it was utterly destroyed in the devastating hurricane of 1932, since which time a churchly and well constructed building has taken its place.

Up to the time of the Spanish-American war these had been the only congregations of Christian people outside the Roman Church. Naturally this condition was changed under the government of the United States and soon after the occupation of the Island by this country on July 25, 1898, there was agitation among army officers and their families, government employees and residents, for regular services of the Church in San Juan. The General Convention of 1898 appointed a "Joint Commission on Increased Responsibilities of the Church," which in March, 1899, reports, "The first action of the Commission was to request the Bishop of Chicago to enquire into the possibilities of undertaking mission work in Porto Rico. He has finally commissioned the Rev. George B. Pratt to go to San Juan, Porto Rico, for the purpose of looking over the field and reporting. Previous to this action the same Bishop authorized the Rev. Henry A. Brown, formerly chaplain of the Rough Riders, and now chaplain of a regiment of regulars in Porto Rico, to open services as expeditiously as possible after his arrival in San Juan."

The Rev. Dr. William C. Brown, at that time a missionary in Brazil, later bishop of Virginia, was chosen to be bishop of Porto Rico by the General Convention in 1901, but did not find it possible to accept.

Bishop VanBuren, writing in the *Spirit of Missions*, says, "The Mission (St. John's) was begun shortly after the time of the American Occupation by Rev. H. A. Brown, an army chaplain, who gave freely and generously of his services." The work in San Juan, therefore, had its beginning with the arrival of Chaplain Brown. The following is a quotation from a letter of Major Gen. Lutz Wahl to the Rev. Kenneth Miller, dated Oct. 5, 1928, in answer to a request for in-

formation: "The records in my office show that Henry A. Brown, chaplain in the 1st U. S. Volunteer Cavalry (Roosevelt Rough Riders), War with Spain, applied July 22, 1898, to transfer to a chaplaincy in the Regular Army, and it may be of interest to you to know that his application was indorsed by Lt. Col. Theodore Roosevelt as follows: 'I heartily indorse this application. The chaplain has shown great courage and humanity in succoring my wounded men under heavy fire.'"

On September 20, 1898, the President directed that Henry A. Brown of Arizona, formerly chaplain of the 1st U. S. Volunteer Cavalry, should be appointed chaplain in the regular army when there was a vacancy. Accordingly, on November 4, 1898, there was issued to Henry A. Brown a commission as post chaplain, U. S. A., which, on November 12, 1898, Brown accepted and executed his oath of office on the same day.

On December 23, 1898, the commanding general at San Juan, Porto Rico, requested an assignment of a post chaplain to that post, and Henry A. Brown was ordered in the early part of January, 1899, to go to St. Louis, Missouri, and to report himself from that place to the adjutant general. He so reported himself, from St. Louis, Missouri, on January 9, 1899, and on January 10, 1899, there was issued by the War Department, Special Order No. 7, ordering Post Chaplain Brown (hitherto unassigned), to proceed to Porto Rico for assignment to station.

The exact date of Chaplain Brown's arrival was not shown, but it appears from the records that he was on duty at San Juan, attached to the 11th U. S. Cavalry, as chaplain of the post January 23, 1899. He appears to have remained on duty at that post, except for two short periods when he was on leave of absence, until he applied January 21, 1901, for assignment to the artillery arm of the service. At this time he was on leave of absence in New York City and on February 25, 1901, he was ordered to report to the commanding general, Department of the East, for assignment. He appears to have been assigned to station at Fort Hancock, New Jersey.

From the foregoing it will be seen that Chaplain Brown was not in San Juan, Porto Rico, in 1898.

Chaplain Brown passed away in Baltimore in 1919. He held the rank of colonel, which no army chaplain in the service had held before him. Practically his existence had been spent in ministering to the young men and officers of the U. S. Army in many parts of the world.

Blessed with a genial disposition, a fine sense of humor and a high spirit of service he has left an enviable memory among those to whom he ministered and all who had the privilege of knowing him.

Rev. George B. Pratt, mentioned by the commission above, arrived in San Juan in March, 1899, and the first service held by an organized congregation under the name of the "Church of St. John the Baptist" took place on March 12, 1899. This service was held in a club room on the Plaza Principal. Chancel furniture used here had been donated by Christ Church, Bellport, L. I., New York. Mr. Pratt wrote from San Juan: "I am here and have held the first service. I am the first in the field excepting a small Lutheran Sunday School and a Union Service held by a Y. M. C. A. man in a theatre." On April 11, 1899, Mr. Pratt was appointed a missionary by the Board of Missions.

Bishop Whipple, acting for the bishop of Chicago, visited the island and confirmed a class in San Juan presented by Mr. Pratt on Feb. 25, 1900, and on Ash Wednesday, the 28th, had confirmation in Holy Trinity Church, Ponce.

It was found later that a clause in the club's charter forbade "gatherings of a political or religious nature to be held in the building" so the young congregation had to seek other quarters. They occupied at least three other temporary quarters before the Church was built in 1904.

Bishop George W. Peterkin, of West Virginia, sailed January 5, 1901, for a visit to the island, on instructions from the presiding bishop, the Rt. Rev. Thomas M. Clark. He remained two months, holding services and confirmations in Ponce, Vieques and San Juan. Chaplain Brown was again in charge of St. John's, Mr. Pratt having returned to the United States in October, 1900. Chaplain Brown sailed for the States February 7, 1901.

Rev. James H. VanBuren, who had been appointed missionary to Porto Rico, arrived Feb. 14, 1901. His arrival brought great encouragement, and his genial disposition and organizing ability gave a sense of permanence to the work. The mission was organized as a parish on Christmas Eve, 1901, a vestry was chosen and he was elected the first rector.

At a special meeting of the House of Bishops the Rev. J. H. VanBuren was elected bishop of Porto Rico and was consecrated on St. John the Baptist day, patronal festival of Puerto Rico. He assumed his new duties immediately, remaining as rector of St. John's. He set about extending the work of the Church in the district, especially in

and near San Juan, caring also for the already existing work in Ponce and Vieques.

The Rev. Walter Mitchell, now bishop of Arizona, succeeded Bishop VanBuren as rector of St. John's, remaining for two years. He in turn was succeeded by the Rev. F. A. Warden.

Bishop VanBuren resigned his jurisdiction in 1912 on account of ill health. He returned to the United States and after a long illness died July 9, 1917. The Rt. Rev. A. W. Knight, bishop of Cuba, was placed in charge of the district until Dec. 17, 1913, when the Rt. Rev. C. B. Colmore, the present bishop, was consecrated at Sewanee, Tennessee.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Vestry Minutes (1843-1863) of Saint Paul's Church, Grand Gulf, Mississippi.*

Edited by Nash Kerr Burger, Historiographer of the Diocese of Mississippi. Jackson, 1942. Pp. 19.

The historiographer of the diocese of Mississippi continues his admirable work of publishing important sources of the early history of the Church in that state.

The original manuscript minutes are reproduced in full with a two page preface, a map, and with ample footnotes. The parish as well as the town is now extinct; but as it was a congregation of some importance in a flourishing river town in the early days of Mississippi before the river changed its course and ruined both town and parish, these vestry minutes throw considerable light on the life and workings of a frontier church.

The biographical data on the clergy who ministered to it and on the laymen who served on its vestry, are very valuable. The volume amounts to a reconstruction of the history of this parish.

This publication, following the style of the productions of the Historical Records Survey of the W.P.A., is mimeographed and bound. We commend this inexpensive method to other dioceses where ample funds are not available in making accessible their more important manuscript sources by regular printing.

WALTER H. STOWE.

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*The Expansion of the Anglican Communion.* By John Higgins. Louisville, The Cloister Press, 1942. Pp. 248. \$2.

Not since 1895, when Bishop Alfred Barry's *The Ecclesiastical Expansion of England* was published, have we had an up to date account of the growth of the Anglican Communion. A good deal has happened in the nearly half century intervening to justify a new presentation of this important subject.

The story of the present volume is told in seven chapters: "the Church in the British Isles"; "the Churches of the Americas and the West Indies"; "the Church in Africa and the Islands of the Indian Ocean"; "the Church in India and the East Indies"; "the Church in Australasia"; "the Churches of the Far East"; "the Church in Europe and the Near East"; plus bibliography, index, and 13 maps.

The more spectacular part of this Anglican expansion has taken place in the last 150 years, and more particularly in the last century:

"In this century and a half an Established Church, the sole authority of which resided in king and parliament, has grown to the world-wide Anglican Communion, with 9 self-governing provinces and 28 single

dioceses outside the British Isles, together with 9 missionary districts under the American Church. The total number of Anglican dioceses now is 314, the oldest being the see of Canterbury, founded 597, and the youngest, North Africa, established in 1936. There are some 37,000,000 baptized members . . . " (Page 235.)

An interesting fact about this book is that it was written by the rector of a large, down town city parish (Gethsemane, Minneapolis), which is a very exacting responsibility. It proves that more of our parochial clergy could make worth-while contributions to Church history and scholarship if they would set their minds to it. If, instead of aimless reading, or, what is worse, succumbing without a struggle to the modern clerical gospel of unrestrained activism which considers any kind of serious study as a form of indolence, a clergyman will take time to master some phase of theology, he can within ten years be something of an authority in that particular field; and what is more important, the Church will be the richer for it. For 50 years the intellectual leadership of the American clergy has declined, both absolutely and relatively; and it is high time attempts were made to rectify this deplorable condition.

There are, we regret to say, several errors in the chapter on the American Church; some minor, some more serious. In chronological order they are:

"The astute New Englanders . . . further instructed their bishop-elect to seek apostolic orders from the Scottish non-juring bishops should he fail in his mission with the English parliament and bishops." (Page 68.)

This is not quite accurate. Seabury, the bishop-elect, was not present at the convention which elected him, but was in New York. The convention ordered its emissaries thus to instruct Seabury, but in fact they did not do so and Seabury went to Scotland on his own responsibility as his letters clearly show.

"[White] . . . was made chaplain of the Continental Congress of 1787, which position he held until 1801." (Page 71.)

Dr. White became chaplain of the congress in 1777, served until 1789, when it moved to New York, and then from 1790 to 1800 when it returned to Philadelphia.

"At this convention [1785] the three groups faced each other, each with its own distinct idea as to how the Church might best be revived." (Page 71.)

One of these groups, the Connecticut churchmen, never had any representatives present in any General Convention until the second session of 1789.

"The English archbishops and bishops . . . complained that the participation of laymen in church government was an unheard-of novelty." (Page 72.)

No such complaint was ever made by the English archbishops and bishops. In fact, one of the counts against Seabury in his application to them for episcopal orders was that he did not possess the consent of the laity of Connecticut. However much the English archbishops and bishops may have been lacking in enthusiasm, they did not lack in learning, and they knew their primitive Church history quite as well as Dr. White. Their exact language was as follows:

"We should be inexcusable, too, if, at the time when you are requesting the establishment of Bishops in your Church, we did not strongly represent to you that the Eighth Article of your Ecclesiastical Constitution appears to be a degradation of the Clerical, and still more of the Episcopal character. . . ."

This is quite a different thing. It was a protest against the provision whereby a diocesan convention could suspend or remove from office any bishop, priest or deacon within its jurisdiction. This meant in a diocese such as Virginia where the laity could outvote the clergy, that the latter were at the absolute mercy of the former, and that bishops as well as priests could be in fact deposed by laymen. Such a practice was absolutely contrary to the age-long catholic principle that a bishop or priest could only be degraded by his peers. The English archbishops and bishops were absolutely right and their position is that of the American Church today.

"At a convention of the whole Church [1786] they then elected Doctor Provoost to be bishop of New York, Doctor White for Pennsylvania, and Doctor Griffith for Virginia." (Page 72.)

This, of course, was not the case. Those gentlemen had already been elected by their respective dioceses. The General Convention of 1786 merely signed their "testimonials in the form prescribed by the archbishops of England for the General Convention."

On page 73 it is stated that Drs. White and Provoost were consecrated February 4, 1786. This should be 1787. Likewise, they returned to New York on Easter Day, 1787, not 1786.

On page 75: "[Bishop] Hobart died in 1839, a few years after the first beginnings of the Catholic revival in England." Hobart died in 1830, a few years before Keble, Newman and Pusey were ever heard of.

"Another unwitting source of internal dissension in the years of missionary opportunity from 1800-1835 was the rise of an ardent champion (Hobart) of Anglo-catholicism some 25 years before Keble preached the famous Oxford sermon which began the Catholic revival in England. . . . But Hobart made many ecclesiastical enemies and while the Church must acknowledge the debt which she will ever owe to him, at the same time internal dissension and debate focussed churchmen's eyes on the home battlefield instead of on the new frontier. . . ." (Page 75.)

This is one of those unfortunate statements which conveys an entirely erroneous impression. This statement assumes that the home battlefield was strong in faith, strong in number of parishes and members, strong in financial resources, fully manned with clergy, and that these were frittered away in fruitless controversy. No one of these assumptions is true. It is reading into the past of 125 years ago what we know to be true today. When Hobart appeared on the scene the home battlefield was pathetically weak in all of these important factors. Whoever heard of a home battlefield which was weak carrying on successful war in distant regions?

Hobart and those who followed in his train had to strengthen the faith, increase the number of parishes and members, enlarge the financial resources, and recruit and inspire the ministry of the home front before the Church could send out priests and money into the Middle West. To expect otherwise is to expect the impossible. New Jersey, for example, for the first 30 years of its diocesan existence (1785-1815) never had a bishop. It couldn't support one.

Hobart by his energy, his magnetism, his magnificent aggressiveness, won literally thousands to the Church. His controversies, by way of reaction among his opponents, stimulated them to greater endeavors. A very good case can be made out to show that Hobart was a great factor in the re-creation of the evangelicals as an effective group in the Church. Richard Channing Moore, under whom the revival of the Church in Virginia began, was a priest in Hobart's diocese when he was called to the South. Hobart's example inspired Moore to do on evangelical lines in Virginia what Hobart had done on high church lines in New York.

This reviewer was born and raised and has labored in the Middle West. He knows the common assumption of Middle Westerners, to-wit: That the Middle West was the only frontier the Episcopal Church ever had until the Civil War. As a matter of fact, for the first 50 years of its autonomous existence the Atlantic Seaboard was its frontier. Having approached annihilation, it had first to recover an enormous amount of lost ground.

Another thing to be remembered is that during Hobart's lifetime upper and western New York State was one of the greatest missionary frontiers the Church has ever had. And Hobart was one of the greatest missionary bishops the Church has ever had. Thanks to him, the Church was early on the ground and reaped a rich harvest which is evident at this day. In his missionary enthusiasm he nearly wrecked the finances of Trinity Church, New York; he not only poured himself out, but he literally burned himself out and died on his missionary frontier at Auburn, New York.

Moreover, Hobart inspired and trained New York churchmen to give generously. Henry Caswall, a priest of English birth who was ordained in this country and returned to the Church of England, visited New York in 1834, four years after Hobart's death. In his book, "America and the American Church," he writes:

"The Church-people of the city of New York are pre-eminently distinguished by their disposition to assist Episcopal institutions. If there is an infant parish to be established in the far West, and unable to erect a place of worship, application is made to the benevolence of New York. . . . Applicants after applicants come crowding in, and the fountain of Christian kindness still remains unexhausted, and even increasing in abundance. I have been credibly informed that many wealthy merchants habitually devote a tenth part of their income, or even more, to purposes connected with the extension of religion."

It is to be noted that these applicants did not go to those portions of the Church which were untainted by controversy!

In the bibliography *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* is not given. In all charity, but with candor, let it be said that no up to date history of the American Episcopal Church can be written which neglects the findings contained in the ten years, ten volumes, of this publication.

Let not this excursion into American Church history hide from the reader our sincere opinion that the Anglican Communion should welcome this story of its expansion throughout the world, and that the American Church should be proud that one of its own clergy has written it. All interested laymen should read it, and all clergymen should not only read it but own it for reference.

WALTER H. STOWE.

*John Woolman, American Quaker*, by Janet Whitney. Boston. Little, Brown & Co. 1942. Pp. 490. \$3.75.

Mrs. Janet Whitney is already well known for her biography of *Elizabeth Fry, Quaker Heroine*. She has now crossed the Atlantic to tell the story of *John Woolman, American Quaker*. The book is written with imaginative insight, so that the reader is rewarded not only with a picture of Woolman, but with an excellent presentation of Quaker customs of the colonial period.

With a skill rivalling that of the ablest fiction writers, Mrs. Whitney gives an account of all aspects of Quaker life, including such topics as education, the home, the founding of new towns, the artisan class, press and publication, community development, relations with the Indian and the Negro, health, disease, and death. All subjects are illuminated by showing human beings in motion. In quick strokes she paints the coming of the white man: "The Indian loved the silence, and preserved it. His arrow was as quiet as a bird's flight; his canoe slipped down the waterways like a leaf; . . . But the white men, stepping onto the river shore with a tread that crackled on the twigs, had no awe of the forest wilderness. . . . Their shouts awoke the echoes, they whistled and sang as they built their campfires, and both game and Indian were presently deafened for a half mile round by the shattering explosion of a musket. But above all and most conquering, a new note stirred the air's vibrations in those solitudes—the sound of casual human laughter" (pp. 3-4). Descriptions of habit and environment abound, such as "Large families bent on travel made quite a demand on horses, and a young man who had no sister to take in to Monthly, Quarterly, or Yearly Meeting could make himself and his horse useful by taking someone else's sister. Certainly pillion riding lent itself to courtship" (pp. 51-52). Her description of Mount Holly is as fine as the imaginative portrayal of *Our Town*.

John Woolman's social creed anticipates Thoreau and William Blake. His technique as a reformer is presented in his battle with a saloon keeper, during which he gained his objective and won the friendship of the man (pp. 78-80). Throughout his life, even among Quakers, Woolman was famous for his ability to place himself in the position of his opponent, and to approach any problem by complete understanding of a contrary point of view with all of its economic and social implications. This quality of a versatile mind appeared in his advocacy of the rights of the Indian, of the Negro slave, in his pacifism and opposition to bearing arms against the Indian, and in his advocacy of humane treatment of seamen. Moreover, he was able to measure his own strength so that his work brought success rather than failures.

The share of the Quaker in the building of colonial America is vividly presented in a new synthesis of all the folk from Virginia to New England. The Quakers brought not only their religious way of life with them but also sufficient wealth to establish themselves in their new home without suffering many of the hardships of other pioneers. The reader of this volume will probably get a clearer view of Quaker society than is possible in any other work outside of the writings of Professor Rufus M. Jones. Nowhere is the narrative dull; nowhere does the author fail to translate Quaker phrases into modern terms. She is, of course, writing as an insider in sympathetic interpretation of her people and their point of view. It is not within her intention to explain the harshness of contemporary controversy, nor the hostility which the Quakers encountered from other Christian groups. The separateness of the Quaker, a society within a society, is no

doubt a partial key to this fact. Without particular discussion of this hardihood, she brings Quaker independence into clear view.

The author's documentation is extensive and overbalances the privileges she often permits herself in rounding out the narrative in a literary rather than an historical manner. A Bibliography, Appendices of considerable interest, and a brief Index complete the volume. The Illustrations, by George Gillette Whitney, are particularly attractive.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

*University of California, Los Angeles.*

*The Negro in English Romantic Thought; or, A Study of Sympathy for the Oppressed.* By Eva Beatrice Dykes. The Associated Publishers, Inc., Washington, D. C. 1942. PP. x + 197.

This book describes the growth in England of a sense of responsibility to the Negro. The material is fairly copious, though Miss Dykes would have found much to her purpose in an important article by Professor C. A. Moore ("Whig Panegyric Verse, 1700-1760: a Phase of Sentimentalism," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XLI [1926], 362-401) and perhaps something in Nathaniel Weekes's poem (1754) on the Barbadoes, J. Singleton's (1767) and George Heriot's (1781) on the West Indies, and the anonymous *Jamaica* (1777). The reader of Miss Dykes's book is especially struck by the great popularity of Mungo Park's *Travels*, the early attempts at dialect verse, and the effect of Abolition in the British Empire upon public opinion in America.

But the organization of the material raises doubts. Miss Dykes divides the authors of each period in turn into groups of major and minor, and concludes with a chapter on "some women abolitionists." This arrangement appears to the present reviewer to obscure both the main issues and their chronological development. For example, is difference in sex sufficient cause for separating Dorothy Wordsworth from her brother by two chapters? Indeed, only in her conclusion does Miss Dykes reveal her ability to survey her material and discover trends in ideas; and one suspects that had she pursued these lines of infiltration from the outset, her campaign would have brought profounder results. She might also have profitably widened her perspective so as to view her subject more philosophically as part of the great sentimental and humanitarian movement (her treatment of this is very brief and might well have drawn upon Professor Ronald S. Crane's brilliant article, "Suggestions toward a Genealogy of the 'Man of Feeling,'" *ELH, a Journal of English Literary History*, I [1934], 205-230). It is an odd coincidence that this study of anti-slavery literature should so nicely exemplify the slavery to dead fact and the card index method that has been so rife in American scholarly writing. (The present reviewer feels the iron turn in his own breast.) Is a scholar's whole duty merely to plod through volumes, jot down pertinent facts and quotations, place them in a sequence at best arbitrary, and call the result a monograph?

ROBERT A. AUBIN,

*New Jersey College for Women.*

*The Ministry and the Eucharist*, by W. J. Sparrow Simpson. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. 215.

This volume falls into three main parts: The Church of the Centuries; In the Church of England since the Reformation and Recent Movements towards Reunion. It is frankly written from the Anglo-Catholic standpoint. Given its premises, it would be difficult to find in comparatively small compass a more lucid and logical exposition. There is a particularly illuminating chapter on Spiritual Communion.

*Cardinal Consalvi and Anglo-Papal Relations*, by John Tracy Ellis. Washington. The Catholic University of America Press. 1942. Pp. 202.

Althought little known to this generation Cardinal Consalvi ranked as an ecclesiastical statesman in the early part of the nineteenth century. This study is concerned with the large part he played in the effort of the Papacy to obtain an alleviation of the harsh conditions under which the Roman Catholics in England perforced lived. He was the first Roman cardinal to set foot in England since Cardinal Pole landed at Dover in 1554. The author who is a member of the faculty of the Catholic University of America, has done an excellent piece of historical research.

*The Essence of Anglo-Catholicism* by Walter Herbert Stowe. New York. Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1942. Pp. 61.

A clear-cut scholarly exposition of the Anglo-Catholic position prepared and read before a group of Protestant ministers in New Jersey. It is negative in the sense of "What Anglo-Catholicism is Not", and positive in "What Anglo-Catholicism Is". An excellent manual for intelligent laymen. E. C. C.



# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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